

# THE DUBLIN REVIEW

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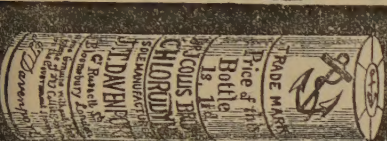
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THE AUTHORSHIP AND COMPOSITION OF  
THE HEXATEUCH.

IN this article we shall endeavour to give a short and systematic exposition of the principal results which the critical investigation into the authorship and composition of the Pentateuch has yielded, and on which many modern critics are now agreed; and at the same time we shall adduce some of the main reasons which have led critics to adopt these results. For want of space we cannot enter into the small and comparatively unimportant questions incidental on the analysis of a book composed as the Pentateuch is said to be. It may be doubted, moreover, whether the discussion of such questions would help the reader in forming a clear and correct notion of what may be considered the leading points in the modern theory of the authorship and composition of the Pentateuch. It would be a mistake, however, to suppose that this article is intended to establish the truth of a theory which we have made our own. If this had been our motive in writing we should have attempted a scheme not only absurd but also very unbecoming. For it is obvious that the vindication of a theory, so broad as that with which we are now dealing, could not be given within the narrow limits of an article; nor would it, we think, be proper to assume the task of proving its correctness, when scholars, ever so much better qualified than we, are of opinion that they have already irrefragably accomplished it. Our article, therefore, is written with no

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intention of convincing the reader, nor for the purpose of being polemical. We merely wish to place before those of our readers who are not, perhaps, in a position of becoming otherwise cognisant of them, some fundamental facts connected with a question which is, at the present time, of primary importance, and, it may be, of far reaching significance.

Before entering on our main task, we should like to call attention to a matter having a very important bearing on the subject in hand. It is not uncommon for Catholics, both in writing and conversation, to fail to distinguish between rationalism and biblical criticism—understanding by this word the criticism of the literature of the Old Testament only. The consequence of disregarding this distinction is that a biblical scholar who has adopted what he considers some of the clearly proven conclusions of criticism, or who confesses himself inclined towards them, is accused of holding “rationalistic principles” or of “following in the path of rationalism.” This accusation appears to us unfair. There is, we think, a great difference between rationalism and those deductions of biblical criticism, which are the result of impartial and scientific investigation. It is, for instance, unfair to accuse a scholar, such as Delitzsch, of leaning towards rationalism simply because, towards the close of his life, he became convinced that some of the conclusions of biblical criticism were true. No doubt there are reasons which, to a certain extent, explain why biblical criticism is regarded by some as rationalistic. Perhaps one is that it has led some Protestant divines into heterodox notions concerning the knowledge of our Lord. For, erroneously thinking that certain statements of our Lord, in which he refers to the Old Testament writings, are opposed to the conclusions of biblical criticism, they have tried to solve this difficulty by supposing that, in matters of literary criticism, His human knowledge might have been limited and even liable to error. “It is not, I believe,” says Dr. Kirkpatrick, “contrary to the Catholic doctrine of our Lord’s person to suppose that in such matters His knowledge was the knowledge of His time.” (*The Divine Library of the Old Testament*, p. 9). On the following page the Professor gives an extract from a sermon on the “Limitation of our Lord’s knowledge.” “The

question of the age or the authorship of any passage in the Old Testament was never either started by our Lord himself or raised by His opponents. He did not come into the world to give instruction on such subjects. . . . When, however, we affirm our Lord's human ignorance of natural science, historical criticism, and the like, we are not to be understood as denying the possibility of the miraculous community of such knowledge, but only the affirmation so often confidently made, that the unity of our Lord's humanity with His divinity not necessarily implies the possession of such knowledge. He might be without it."

In a somewhat similar manner Dr. Sanday, in "The Oracles of God," says: "If it should be proved that the Law, as we have it, was not written by Moses, or that the 110th Psalm was not written by David, what, in that case, should we say to the affirmations of the Athanasian Creed? The question I think, for the reasons I have given, is premature; but, if we are forced to answer it, this much at least seems obvious, that the explanation must lie in the fact that He of whom we are speaking is not only God, but man. The error of statement would belong in some way to the Humanity and not to the Divinity" (p. 109). Dr. Kirkpatrick and Dr. Sanday would have done well if, while discussing our Lord's human knowledge, they had paid more attention to the words of the prophet: "And the spirit of Jehovah shall rest upon Him, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and strength, the spirit of knowledge and fear of Jehovah."

We need not say that, as Catholics, we turn away with feelings of horror from any opinion which makes the Humanity of our Lord subject to the defects of ignorance and error. Indeed, we are prepared to reject, *a priori*, all critical conclusions, however true they may appear, if there were no other alternative left but that of admitting that our Lord's human knowledge was limited. But we feel confident that there is a *via media* by means of which we can fully admit the just claims of fair and calm criticism without in any way compromising our Catholic belief. Though we do not intend to enter here on the theological side of the question of Biblical criticism, yet we cannot help remarking that it does not follow that, because our Lord and His disciples were in the habit of quoting Old



Testament writings by the names of authors to whom tradition had generally assigned them, they therefore must have thought that the writings they quoted were, such as we have them, written by those authors. Hence conservative scholars are, we believe, going too far when they bring forward the New Testament references as arguments for their opinion. Father Knabenbauer, S.J., for instance, is hardly justified in trying to prove the traditional opinion of the authorship of the book of Daniel from our Lord's words (Matt. xxiv., 15): "When therefore, you see the abomination of desolation which was spoken of by Daniel the prophet, standing in the holy place; he that readeth let him understand." From this passage Father Knabenbauer draws the following conclusion: "*Ergo liber iste et constans Judæorum de eo sententia approbatur et enunciatur ab eo qui est Deus homo, qui si dicit veritatem et qui venit in mundum ut testimonium perhiberet de veritate. Si autem liber iste non esset Danielis, sed solum sub ficto nomine Danielis (?) tempore machabaico conscriptus manifestum est fieri non potuisse, ut Christus eo modo loqueretur, quo huic libro et sententiæ Judæorum de eo summa auctoritas attribuitur*" (Commentarius in Daniele, p. 23). We confess that we are unable to understand how it is manifest (1) that our Lord's quotation from Daniel corroborates the Jewish opinion of the authorship of Daniel's book, and (2) that he could not have quoted Daniel's book in the manner in which he has quoted it had it been written in the Machabæan age. But let us suppose that Father Knabenbauer's conclusion is manifest, how, under this supposition, are we to account for the attitude of those "good Catholic commentators in France, who," as Dr. Schanz informs us, "consider the second part of Isaias more recent than the first, and relegate Daniel to the second century (B.C.) because on this head the Church has pronounced no decisions?" (Apology II., p. 188.)

Another reason why Biblical criticism is often confounded with rationalism may be ascribed to the fact that its conclusions, though in themselves indifferent, have often been greatly abused. It must be acknowledged that, by such authors as Kuenen and Renan, these conclusions have been falsely represented interwoven with arbitrary hypotheses with which they have naturally no connection, and made sub-

servient to rationalistic systems of religious progress. The critical conclusion, for instance, that Deuteronomy was reformulated in the seventh century, B.C., and the historical event of its discovery in the temple under King Josiah, are so discoloured and distorted by Dr. Kuenen as to make Deuteronomy appear to be nothing else than a mere literary concoction, elaborated by means of a gigantic system of religious fraud, by which the priests and prophets of that age succeeded in forcing upon the deluded people the precepts it contains. But have not other sciences been abused for equally dishonest purposes? Do those Catholics who have to a certain extent adopted the doctrine of evolution incur the reproach of having embraced rationalistic views simply because the conclusions of evolution are sometimes so strained as to become opposed to the Christian religion?

Moreover, we must not forget that the scientific inquiry into the literature of the Old Testament has a positive as well as a negative side. It is true that this inquiry has led to conclusions which would modify our traditional notions as to the age and authorship of some of the Old Testament writings. Yet it cannot be denied that it has also produced much that is very useful for the better understanding of the Scriptures, and consequently for the refutation of objections which arise, not from any real opposition between Scripture and reason, but from our ignorance of the Sacred Text. Catholic doctrine teaches us that the Scriptures are the work of men who wrote under the Inspiration and with the assistance of the Holy Ghost. And though the Holy Spirit is declared to be the *Auctor*, yet to admit the concurrence of the human author is fully allowed. This is not the place to speak at any length on the subject of Inspiration. It is sufficient to bear in mind that the union in which the Holy Spirit and the writer have worked—a union the delicate nature of which seems to lie beyond the reach of human analysis—forbids us to distinguish parts that are inspired from passages that are not inspired, however small these passages may be. It equally forbids us to sever, as two distinct elements, the substance or ideas from the language and form in which these ideas are expressed. The Divine causality and human authorship are, as the Abbé Loisy rightly expresses it, two activities which have acted per



*modum unius*; and consequently the Divine and human elements interpenetrate each other. Still it must not be lost sight of that Inspiration did not reduce the writer to the condition of a purely physical instrument. On the contrary, Inspiration, while leaving unimpaired whatever constitutes a truly human act, seems to have adapted itself to the individuality of the writer, to his character and literary attainments, to his understanding, and to the ideas of his time. Hence Fr. Coleridge says: Inspiration "does not shut out the individual character, or the personal experience, or the acquired knowledge, or the turn of mind, or the habit of thought, or the kind of education or association, or the methods of expression, or the peculiar taste or imagery, the natural and cultivated modesty or reserve or simplicity or picturesqueness, which might have distinguished the same authors if they had produced books which were merely human in every respect. It does not preclude the careful adaptation of their works to those for whose use they were more immediately composed, and this careful adaptation must of necessity have had its effect not only on what was inserted in each composition, but also what was omitted in each. (Life of Our Life. Preface p. 16).

It is on account of this human element that the scriptures open such a wide field for study and scientific investigation. For acquaintance with the personality of the writer, with his language, style, age and country, is, if not necessary, at least very desirable for the right understanding of the sacred text. Fr. Coleridge complains "that it is not uncommon to find in commentators on Scripture, whether Catholic or Protestant, a want of acquaintance with the author with whom they are for the time dealing." No doubt his own success in harmonizing the Gospel narratives is greatly due to his familiarity with all the characteristics of each individual Gospel. Hence we may conclude that whatever can make us better acquainted with the literary composition of a Sacred Book will of necessity be of the greatest value for its interpretation. It is obvious that this will be greatly facilitated when the character and authorship of a sacred book are known. Concerning both points the critical examination of the literature of the Old Testament has, in several cases, given considerable information. It tells us

whether the book must be considered the work of one writer, or, on the contrary, as composed of different parts or fragments, written at different times and probably for the purpose of meeting different necessities. Possessed of such knowledge the reader is already, in a certain measure, acquainted with the character of the book he wishes to know, and can proceed with confidence to make himself better acquainted with its peculiarities. It is, for instance, a great advantage to the student of Isaiah to know beforehand that a certain part of the collection of prophecies was written, not by Isaiah, but by a prophet living towards the close of the Babylonian exile. It will help him to form a more correct judgment of the style and phraseology of the book, of the writer's political notions and of the nature of the Messianic prophecies which the book contains. He will not be embarrassed when he notices that in one part of the book the political notions of the prophet do not, on the whole, appear to reach beyond the encroaching power of Assyria and its ultimate ruin, while, in another part, the prophet seems to be only aware of the existence and fall of the Babylonian empire. Nor will the circumstance perplex him that the Messianic prophecies are connected sometimes with the oppression of Assyria and, at other times, with the return from the exile in Babylon.

Indeed, we feel confident that, if attention were paid to the positive side rather than to the negative side of biblical criticism, the aversion with which it has been hitherto regarded would be greatly lessened. Abbé Loisy, Professor of Holy Scripture at the Institut Catholique, in Paris, while reviewing Dr. Driver's Introduction, expresses the wish: "que la question de l'Hexateuque soit bientôt examinée à fond par quelque exégète catholique, non pas dans un livre de controverse, ou elle ne saurait être complètement traitée, mais dans un commentaire véritablement et sainement critique. Le mal ne serait pas grand si la science orthodoxe, au lieu de répéter les arguments que les protestants conservateurs ont opposé depuis soixante ans aux libéraux, traitait par elle même cet important sujet, en suivant à la fois l'esprit de la véritable tradition catholique, et les procédés de la science moderne." (*L'Enseignement Biblique*, numero 4, chronique p. 9-10).



From an article in a previous number of the DUBLIN REVIEW, entitled "Moses and the Pentateuch," by Canon Howlett, the reader is already aware that to the five books of Moses modern critics have added the book of Joshua, as forming part of one complete history, and that the whole collection of these six books is conveniently called by the name of Hexateuch.

Without the book of Joshua the historical account of the Pentateuch, narrating how Israel originated from one family, chosen by God, and how it grew and developed under Jehovah's special protection into a nation, remains incomplete. The goal towards which the whole narrative is looking forward,—the occupation of Chanaan, to the possession of which Israel is entitled by virtue of the divine promises made to its ancestors, is contained in the book of Joshua. The Pentateuch is not the history of the life and doings of Moses, whose death occurs at the end of Deuteronomy. If the author of the Pentateuch had intended to write a biography of the great law-giver of Israel, he would have commenced his narrative, not with the creation of all things, but with the birth or call of Moses.

Before entering upon the inquiry into the origin of the Hexateuch, it is necessary that the evidence which the book itself gives concerning its authorship should be well considered and carefully weighed. Now, it is very remarkable that, instead of a definite declaration, ascribing the whole Pentateuch to Moses and the book of Joshua to Joshua, only certain sections of the Hexateuch are emphasized with a short notice that they were written either by Moses or by Joshua. In Genesis and Leviticus nothing is said about their author. In Exodus we read that after the battle against Amelec, Moses is ordered by God to "write this for a memorial in a book" (Ex. 17, 14); that "Moses wrote all the words of the Lord" (Ex. 24, 4) which had been revealed to him on Sinai, (Ex. 20, 22-23, 33), and that he read this book in the audience of the people (Ex. 24, 7); that God, after having communicated to Moses the commandments after the tenor of which He makes a covenant with Israel (Ex. 34, 10-26), commands him "to write these words" (Ex. 34, 27). In Numbers we are informed that Moses wrote by commandment of God the stations of Israel in

the desert (Numb. ch. 33). In Deuteronomy (31, 9) it is said that "Moses wrote this law," viz., the law which he had explained to the people in his discourse, contained in Deuteronomy, and that "he delivered it unto the priests the sons of Levi." And the book of Joshua (24, 26) contains the statement that after the covenant between Jehovah and Israel had been solemnly renewed at Shechem "Joshua wrote these words (24, 1-25) in the book of the law of God." These then are the only places throughout the whole Hexateuch where mention is made of its author. Silence, indeed, does not imply a negation; yet it is difficult to find a satisfactory reason why to these sections rather than to any other section of the Hexateuch Moses or Joshua should have attached the notice that they were the authors of them. When, moreover, these notices are carefully read, they begin to appear very much like statements, not by Moses or Joshua, but from the hand of a later writer who purposely inserted them in his work to inform the reader that these very sections were originally, though not perhaps in the self-same form as we have them at present, committed to writing by Moses or Joshua. For instance, the first and natural impression which the reader receives from the statement "and Moses wrote this law and delivered it unto the priests" (Deut. 31, 9) is not that Moses here speaks of himself, but that a later writer who re-wrote the great Deuteronomic discourse of Moses, indicates the source whence he had it. Dr. Driver in his introduction to the Scriptures most truly remarks that because Moses could have used the third person, it does not follow that he must have used it. From what has been said it appears that the Pentateuch and Joshua are far from claiming the antiquity and unity which tradition formerly assigned to it. Those therefore who attribute the whole Thorah to Moses and Joshua's book to Joshua, cannot appeal to the evidence of the Hexateuch itself. More than the Mosaic origin of certain sections in Exodus and Numbers, and of the greater part of Deuteronomy (ch. 5-28) cannot be recommended by this appeal.

The opinion assigning to the Hexateuch, in its present form, a post-Mosaic origin, though only possible when the evidence of the book itself is consulted, is raised to a high degree of probability by the investigation into its character. In

order that our account of this investigation may be orderly, we will first consider the analysis of the legislative part of the Hexateuch, and next of its historical portion.

Almost all the laws are contained in the last twenty chapters of Exodus, in Leviticus, in Numbers—with the exception of a few chapters, and in Deuteronomy. Genesis, though it also contains a few laws, and Joshua are historical. To the analysis, therefore, of Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers and Deuteronomy all our attention is at present directed.

It is clear, even to a careless reader, that the author to whom we owe the Hexateuch in its present order and condition had not the intention to give a systematic code of laws; for subjects of the same kind are not successively treated, and statutes dealing with the same questions are scattered in different places. For instance, the laws prescribing the feast days which have to be observed are to be found in Ex. 23, 14-17; 34, 18, 22-25; in Lev. 23; in Num. 28; and in Deut. 16, 1-17. A systematic arranging and classifying of the laws lay evidently outside the plan of the author of the Hexateuch. The only order which he can be said to have observed is a chronological order, *i.e.*, he gives the laws according to the time at which they had been successively revealed by God, or, what regards Deuteronomy, at which they had been communicated by Moses to the people. Though it is, therefore, absolutely true that the legislation of the Hexateuch does not present a systematic plan with proper order and division, critical investigation has in the course of time succeeded in disentangling from the great mass of laws three distinct collections. With these collections, when once separated, the laws which lie outside of them, are easily classified, because they contain the phraseology and technical expressions which are characteristic of the collection to which they belong, and moreover manifest a great similarity in spirit and tendency. We will briefly indicate what these three collections are.

The first collection of laws, is the so-called "Book of the Covenant" contained in the section Ex. 20, 23—23, 33. Its name is not invented by the critics but taken from the passage Ex. 24, 7: "And Moses took the *book of the covenant* and read it to the audience of the people." Moses called it the "Book



of the Covenant" because the observance of its commandments was the condition upon which God entered into a covenant with Israel. The "Book of the Covenant" presents a small but, in itself, a complete code of statutes. It deals, though in a primitive and simple manner, with the various questions concerning the religious and social life of the Israelites. "Its laws," says Dr. Driver, "are designed to regulate the life of a community living under the simple conditions of life, and chiefly occupied in agriculture." According to Ex. 24, 3, the Book of the Covenant consists of two parts, "the judgments and the words." Both are commandments, but the former are set forth in a hypothetical form. The Book closes with an epilogue 23, 20-33, containing a final exhortation in which God promises his protection, if the people "hearken unto His voice." With this little fundamental code may be classified section Ex. 34, 10-28, which section has all the appearance of a short repetition of the Book of the Covenant, and chapter Ex. 13, which contains an historical explanation of the feast of "unleavened bread," and of Jehovah's right to the first-born of man and of beast. The right for grouping together these two sections along with the Book of the Covenant is founded on the similarity both of contents and of language. It is remarkable, for instance, how in all the three sections the celebration of the feast of Passover principally consists in the eating of unleavened bread, and that no prescription is given for the eating of the Paschal Lamb, which, according to the law in Ex. ch. 12 constitutes the essential part of the feast. It is remarkable also how substantially the same and how simple the law is concerning the first-born. Ex. ch. 13, 12-13, "Thou shalt set apart for the Lord all that openeth the womb, and every first thing which thou hast that comest of a beast, the males shall be the Lord's. And every first-born of an ass thou shalt redeem with a lamb, and if thou wilt not redeem it then thou shalt break its neck: and every first-born of man among thy sons shalt thou redeem." Comp. Ex. ch. 22, 28-29, and ch. 34, 19-20. As for the similarity of language, let the reader notice, besides the parallel places which are almost literally the same, the custom of calling, with the exception of Ex. 34, 25, Easter the "feast of unleavened bread," and the first month "the month of Abib."

The second collection of laws is the "Deuteronomic Thorah." This collection contains the laws which Moses promulgated to the people in a discourse, delivered by him in the plain of Moab a short time before his death. The book of Deuteronomy, as Dr. Driver has shown, really contains three discourses spoken by Moses, viz: Ch. 1, 1-4, 40, "Moses' first discourse, consisting of a review of the circumstances under which the Israelites had arrived at the close of their journey, and concluding with an eloquent and practical appeal (ch. 4) not to forget the great truths impressed upon them at Horeb.—Ch. 5-28. Moses' second discourse forming the legislation proper—*v.v.* 4, 44-49 make an historical introduction to this discourse; ch. 5-26: the legislation consisting of two parts: (1) ch. 5-11, a hortatory introduction (2) ch. 12-26, the code of special laws. Ch. 28 is a conclusion to the code, consisting of a solemn declaration of the consequences to follow its observance or neglect.—Ch. 29, 1-30, 20. Moses' third discourse, embracing (1) the establishment of a fresh covenant (ch. 29); (2) the promise of restoration even after the abandonment threatened in ch. 28, if the nation should then exhibit due tokens of penance (30, 1-10); (3) the choice set before Israel (30, 11-20)." (Driver, p. 66.)

Of these three discourses only the second, forming the "Deuteronomic Thorah," concerns us at present. The question as to whether the three discourses are by the same writer, as Dr. Driver is inclined to hold, or whether the first and third discourses are from a later hand, as Dr. Kuenen maintains, is of comparatively small importance. The second discourse critics are wont to indicate with the letter D, the other two discourses with the letter D<sup>2</sup>.

The third collection of laws embraces the chapters 17-26 of Leviticus. That this group forms an independent body of laws appears likely for several reasons. In chapter 26 we have an oration of parenetic character somewhat similar to the epilogues with which the Book of the Covenant and the Deuteronomic Thorah are ended. This parenetic oration, in which the people are exhorted to "walk in the statutes" of God (26, 3) and to keep "his commandments," naturally leads the reader to expect that it is a peroration, preceded by a discourse in which these "statutes and commandments" have been set forth. This

legislative discourse is easily discovered in the nine chapters previous to chapter 26. For these chapters, unlike the preceding chapters of *Leviticus*, are in the form of a discourse resembling that of *Deuteronomy*. The speaker not only promulgates the laws, but also exhorts the people by warnings and threats to observe them. To the parenthetic setting of these chapters must be added a peculiar terminology. From among the several expressions characteristic of these chapters (for which see Dr. Driver, p. 45) let the reader notice for instance the following expressions: "To walk in the statutes," and "to keep the commandments" (26, 3; 18, 3; 20, 23), and "I will set my face against," &c. (26, 17; 17, 10; 20, 3.) There is, moreover, one chief thought which pervades the entire section, viz., that of holiness. The people must be holy because Jehovah their God is holy. Though, as Dr. Driver rightly remarks, holiness is a duty laid upon Israel also in other parts of the *Hexateuch*, it is nowhere insisted upon with equal stress and emphasis. The expressions, "For I Jehovah am Holy," and "I am the Lord that sanctify you," are constantly repeated throughout the section, and form its leading motive. In consequence of this the section received the name of the "Law of Holiness," and is marked with the letter H. The Law of Holiness has very much the appearance of a small independent code, dealing with subjects of a miscellaneous nature. It opens, like the Book of the Covenant and the Deut. *Thorah*, with a fresh statute concerning the place of sacrifice (Lev. 17, 8-9: Dt. 12, Ex. 20, 24-26); it further contains enactments regulating the moral and social behaviour of the Israelites (ch. 18-19) but it evidently attaches a very great importance, and consequently devotes a comparatively large portion of its space to subjects of a religious nature, and of priestly interest (ch. 20-25). By reason of the latter circumstance the Law of Holiness is widely distinguished from either of the two preceding codes. Just as the Book of the Covenant and the Deut. *Thorah* may be regarded as two manuals destined for the people, the legislation of Lev. 17—26 was more intended for the use of the priests.

Round the Law of Holiness group themselves all the remaining laws and regulations which we find scattered throughout the *Hexateuch*. It must not, however, be supposed that the laws and regulations date from the same time and



are by the same writer as the Law of Holiness. The Law of Holiness precludes all possibility of such a supposition by its peculiar wording and parenetic setting, and shows moreover decisive tokens of being older than the laws we are classifying around it. The regulation, for instance, in the Law of Holiness (Lev. 19, 5-8) concerning the peace-offerings chronologically precedes the law of Lev. 7, 15-18. If H. had known the fine distinction which the law of Lev. 7, 15-18, makes between peace-offerings for thanksgiving and those arising from the obligation of a vow, the former of which could be eaten on the day of oblation alone, the latter on the following day as well, he could not, without restriction, have given his regulation permitting the flesh of peace-offerings to be eaten on the day of oblation and on the morrow. Though, therefore, the laws which we here designate as belonging to the third collection are unquestionably of later date than the Law of Holiness; they bear a great similarity to it in spirit and tendency. For they betray in a more striking manner than the Law of Holiness their interest in the ceremonies and rights of Israel's public worship and in the duties and rights of the priests and Levites. By far the greatest part of these laws deal with ritual or priestly subjects. As often as any of these subjects is treated the reader at once feels that the author is dealing with things familiar and dear to him. With a profusion of description, such as approaches the defect of prolixity and wearies the reader, and with a scrupulous exactness of detail, the regulations for the construction of the tabernacle, the offering of sacrifices and the execution of the sacerdotal and levitical offices are prescribed. Let the reader take a glance at the chapters 25—31 in Exodus, and he will not fail to notice how this section betrays great interest and familiarity with all that concerns the services of the tabernacle. But even there, where the laws are regulating things which naturally have no connection with public worship, circumstances are not absent to reveal their priestly tendency. The law for lepers is in itself a sanitary measure (Lev., ch. 13). Yet the priestly character of the law comes out in the circumstance that the execution of it is entrusted to the priests, who alone have the right to judge whether the tokens of the plague are those of leprosy. Reading chapters 34—35 of Numbers,

containing certain regulations concerning the territory of Chanaan, it is remarkable that Eleazar the priest, "the son of Aaron" (34, 17), is the first of the men appointed to divide the land, that provision is made for the sustenance of the Levites by assigning to them 48 cities, with their pasture fields (ch. 35, 1-9), and that in the law, appointing refuge cities, the time, which the manslayer must remain there, is said to end with the death of the high priest: a clause which is wanting in the parallel law of the Deut. Torah (c. 19). It is worth noticing how the anxiety of the author to be exact in fixing the possession of the Levites leads him to write the following sentence (ch. 35, 5): "And ye shall measure without the city on the east side two thousand cubits, and on the south side two thousand cubits, and on the west side two thousand cubits, and on the north side two thousand cubits, the city being in the midst. This shall be to them the suburbs of the cities."

The entire collection of these laws, the Law of Holiness included, is called by the name of "Priestly Code" and usually indicated with the letter P. If we were asked to give a rough summary of the laws which make up the Priestly Code we would enumerate the following chapters: in Genesis the Noachian Torah (9, 1-17), and the law of circumcision (17, 1-14); in Exodus the law for the feast of Passover (ch. 12), the regulations for the construction of the tabernacle and of all that belongs to it (ch. 25-31, and the execution of these regulations (ch. 35-40); in Leviticus the laws for the celebration of sacrifices (ch. 1-10), laws of purification and atonement (ch. 11-16), the "Law of Holiness" (chap. 17-26), the law for the commutation of vows and tithes (ch. 27); in Numbers the regulations for the disposition of the camp and for the duties of the Levites (ch. 1, 1-10, 28), the law of meal and drink offerings (ch. 15); the law fixing the relative duties of the priests and levites (ch. 18), the law of the rite of purification (ch. 19), the law for the inheritance of daughters (chap. 27), the calendar defining the public sacrifices for each season (ch. 28-29), the law of vows (ch. 30), regulations concerning the territory of Chanaan (ch. 34), the law appointing the Levitical cities and refuge cities (ch. 35), the new regulation for the inheritance of daughters (ch. 36); and finally in Joshua the execution of the law for the Levitical and refuge cities (ch. 20-21).

The laws of the Priestly Code moreover are, like those of the Deuteronomic Torah, marked by a peculiar terminology consisting of certain technical expressions which so often repeat themselves, that Pr. Driver has correctly called them "stereotyped expressions." That D. and P. have a peculiar phraseology is evident to everyone who reads the Pentateuch in its original language. As, however, our article is not the proper place for drawing up a list of expressions, we must content ourselves with referring those of our readers, who are anxious to be more fully instructed on this point, to Dr. Driver's excellent "Introduction to the Old Testament," where (p. 123-128) they will find an enumeration of fifty expressions peculiar to P., and to Dr. Kuenen's "Historisch Onderzoek" where (p. 109-111) is given a similar list of expressions characteristic of D. A short example, however, we cannot omit to give. To indicate sentence of death the Book of Covenant uses the hoph'al of מות *ex. gr.* "He shall surely be put to death" מות יומת (Ex. 21, 12), once only it uses the expression לא תחיה "thou shalt not suffer to live." (Ex. 22, 17).

The former expression is natural and common, and is consequently to be found also in D. and P. Yet in these two collections capital punishment is more generally indicated by the following technical expressions: (1) in P. by the expression "that soul (person) shall be cut off (נכרת) from," &c. *ex. gr.* "whosoever eateth leavened bread from the first day until the seventh day that soul shall be cut off from Israel." (Ex. 12, 15); (2) in D. by the phrase "so shalt thou put away (בער) the evil from the midst of thee," *ex. gr.* "and thou shalt stone them with stones that they die.—So thou shalt put away the evil from the midst of thee." (Deut. 17, 5-7).

That arguments based on style and phraseology are not altogether devoid of strength, but can, to a certain extent, be relied on, may be shown by an example taken from an instance where a conclusion obtained by a linguistic argument was subsequently confirmed in a striking manner by the Septuagint. The twentieth chapter of Joshua is, according to critics, written in the phraseology of the Priestly Code, yet two verses and a half, viz: 4, 5, 6b, are said to be clothed in



the language of Deuteronomy; for the expressions **בב לידעת** "unawares," and **אשר יהיה בימים ההם** "who shall be in those days," are Deuteronomic expressions. Modern critics therefore hold that these three verses are an addition inserted in chapter 20 of Joshua from the law contained in Deuteronomy (Deut. 19.) Now it is remarkable that just these three verses are omitted in the text of the LXX. For no other reason can be assigned for this omission than that these three verses were inserted at a comparatively late date, so that they were still wanting in the MSS. used by the LXX translators (Kuenen, Driver).

Having succeeded in grouping the laws of the Hexateuch into three collections, critics can proceed to compare these with each other for the purpose of ascertaining whether their statutes, which often deal with the same subjects, agree or differ. If the laws of the three collections were always found to coincide there would be no reason to depart from tradition, and the difference of style and diction would have to be accounted for by other reasons than by mere difference of authorship. But if, on the other hand, this comparison will show that difference of style is combined with some difference of matter, in other words, that laws regulating the same subject differ in certain points, the suspicion that these collections are not the products of one age and author will grow into conviction. From among the various subjects on which critics have instituted the comparison we select only the following two: (1) the public place of worship; (2) the priests and Levites.

(1) The public place of worship:—The regulation which the "Book of the Covenant" contains concerning the place of sacrifice is given in the following section: "An altar of earth thou shalt make unto me, and thou shalt sacrifice thereon thy burnt offerings, thy peace offerings, thy sheep, and thy oxen: in every place where I will record my name I will come unto thee and I will bless thee" (Ex. 20, 24). The obvious meaning of this passage is, independently of the question whether the words "every place" must be understood successively or simultaneously, that the place for sacrifices is not restricted to one spot or one altar. Kuenen, indeed, holds that the passage implies permission to erect altars at different places simultaneously, and tries to prove his opinion from Ex. 21, 6, "then his master shall bring him" [No. 4 of Fourth Series.]

unto Ha-Elohim;" and from Ex. 22, 7-8, "the master of the house shall come near unto Ha-Elohim," and "the cause of both parties shall come before Ha-Elohim." The former passage regulates a civil contract between master and slave; the latter a case of dispute concerning stolen property. In both passages the persons concerned are obliged to appear before Ha-Elohim, *i.e.*, according to St. Jerome, "Dei." The traditional and more common interpretation is that by Ha-Elohim are meant the judges, who are called Dei, because they administer justice in the name of God. But this interpretation is rejected by Graf, whom Kuenen follows. They translate Ha-Elohim by Deus, and they are of opinion that in both passages there is question of a transaction which has to be accomplished before God, *i.e.*, in God's sanctuary, and with the assistance of God's priest. The inference from this interpretation is clear. Such precepts as those contained in both passages could not possibly be observed, unless there were several sanctuaries in the country to which the Israelites could conveniently have recourse. But Kuenen's argumentation, though plausible, is not convincing. The most, therefore, that critics assert is that the Book of the Covenant does not restrict the permission of sacrificing to one place or one altar. But in asserting this they do not intend to preclude the possibility that in the Book of the Covenant preference is given to one place of sacrifice above others. The precept (ch. 23, 19) obliging the Israelites to bring their first fruits into "the house of the Lord" makes the supposition that the author of the Book of the Covenant really entertained such a preference very reasonable.

Widely different from the law in the Book of the Covenant is the law in the Deuteronomic Torah. Throughout the twelfth chapter, and in other places, a strict centralization of worship is prescribed and insisted on. No sacrifice or oblation is allowed except "in the place which the Lord God shall choose" (12, 5.) In the course of the Deuteronomic oration the speaker so frequently finds opportunity for inculcating this commandment, that centralization of cultus seems to form one of the chief characteristics of Deuteronomy.

In the Priestly Code the only lawful place for sacrificing is the "Tent of Meeting." "This is the thing which the Lord

hath commanded, saying, any man whosoever of the house of Israel that killeth an ox, or a lamb, or a goat in the camp, or that killeth it without the camp, and hath not brought it to the door of the tent of meeting to offer it as an oblation to the Lord, before the tabernacle of the Lord, blood shall be imputed to that man" Lev. 17, 2-4. In the Priestly Code, however, centralization of cultus is not insisted on with the same emphasis as in Deuteronomy; for while in the latter code the law is promulgated, it is in the former code supposed to already exist, and is consequently only transiently confirmed.

(2). Laws distinguishing between priests and Levites. As the Book of the Covenant contains no regulations setting aside a special class of men for the service of the altar, it forms no part of the present consideration. In the Deuteronomic Thorah, the tribe of Levi is set apart by God "to bear the ark of the covenant of the Lord, to stand before the Lord, to minister unto Him, and to bless in His name;" in a word to perform all the priestly functions (Deut. 10, 8). No distinction is made between priests and ministers of an inferior order. Hence the priests are throughout the whole book called "the priests the Levites," or "the priests the sons of Levi," nowhere the priests the "sons of Aaron." In the priestly code an essential distinction is made between priests and Levites. The sons of Aaron alone are truly priests, for they alone are consecrated with the holy oil (Ex. chs. 28, 29); they alone have charge of the sanctuary, the altar and the holy vessels (Numb. 18, 1-7); they alone have the right to bless in the name of God (Numb. 6, 22-27), they alone can perform sacrificial functions, viz: to burn the holocausts, to sprinkle the blood of the victim "about upon the altar," and to "wave the wave offering before the Lord" (Lev. 1-10). To the Levites on the other hand was given the "service of the tent of meeting," and the office of ministering unto the priests (Numb. 18, 2), but from the priesthood they are carefully excluded (Numb. 16, 9-10). A distinction is also drawn between the rights of the priests and the rights of the Levites. While "unto the children of Levi God has given all the tithes in Israel for an inheritance in return for their service (Numb. 18, 21-24), to the family of Aaron were assigned, besides the tithe from the Levites, a part of the offerings, the first



fruits and the firstlings (Numb. 18, 8-19). Of this distinction of rights, no sign is to be found in Deuteronomy. On the contrary the sacrifices and the first fruits are clearly pointed out as the legitimate portion of the whole tribe of Levi. "The priests, the Levites, even all the tribe of Levi, shall have no portion nor inheritance with Israel, they shall eat the offerings of the Lord made by fire, and his inheritance" (Deut. 18, 1).

The comparison which has been made shows that the three collections differ considerably as to the laws regulating the place of public worship, and as to the distinction between Levites and priests. The conclusion to be drawn from this material difference is plain. The three collections cannot in their present form be the product of one age and of one author. Moreover the chronological relation in which the three codes stand to each other can now be ascertained. The book of the covenant chronologically precedes the Deuteronomic Torah; for the unity of sanctuary which in the former code was a matter of preference, has in the latter become a point of law. Again the Deuteronomic Torah is necessarily older than the Priestly Code; for while the Deuteronomic Torah knows of but one class of ministers, the Priestly Code divides that class into two ranks of priests and Levites. As the three codes in their present form cannot be from the pen of the same author, it follows that the reformulation or reduction of the Deuteronomic Torah and the Priestly Code must be assigned to a post-Mosaic author.

With this negative result, however, critical investigation has not attained its end. It is not sufficient for the right understanding of the Deuteronomic Torah and the Priestly Code to know that both, in their present form, are post-Mosaic. The age in which they were reformulated, and the circumstances which led to it, should be known also. This has been achieved through the assistance of what is known of the history of Israel. The oldest of the collections, the Book of the Covenant, is, according to the explicit statement at the end of the book, from the hand of Moses himself. Nor is there any serious reason for questioning this statement. Kuenen, it is true, has brought forward an argument against the Mosaic authorship of the Hexateuch, which, if conclusive, would be equally true of the whole legislation. The laws of

the Hexateuch, according to Kuenen, though regulating in detail the religious, social, and moral life of the Israelites, make no provision for an executive power to which the execution and observance of the laws could have been entrusted. The omission of such an important institution is, Kuenen thinks, fatal to the Mosaic authorship; for the standpoint of the lawgiver is evidently not that of Moses, leading the Israelites through the desert, but of a person living after the occupation of Chanaan, at a time when Israel was already in possession of a regularly established government. Kuenen's objection is based upon the supposition that no form of government existed in Israel at the time of Moses, or that the form of government which did exist was insufficient for its purpose. Both suppositions, however, are false. It is, indeed, probable that the appointment of "rulers over thousands, hundreds, fifties, and tens" (Ex. 18, 21), and the election of the "seventy elders" as coadjutors of Moses (Num. 11, 17) were but temporary institutions, and that both would have to cease at the end of the journey. But it is certain that there existed in Israel, at the time of the exodus, a form of government which may to us appear imperfect, but which was excellently well fitted for the then primitive state of the people. The political condition of Israel at the time of the exodus, and later, presents the appearance of a confederation of little commonwealths which, though each had its own private interests, were united by the tie of one common religion, and by a strong desire for political independence. This state of affairs is visible even at the time of David and Solomon, and must have co-operated, in no small measure, to bring about the separation between the northern and southern tribes. The confederation consisted of the twelve tribes, and each tribe consisted of families or "houses." As chiefs of the tribes we find mentioned the "princes." They sometimes appear as representatives of their tribes before Moses and Aaron; ex. gr. "and Moses spake to the heads of the tribes saying;" or, are at other times assembled in council acting under Moses and Aaron: "and Moses and Aaron and the princes of the congregation numbered the sons of the Kohathites" (Num. 4, 34), or, "and Moses and Eleazar and all the princes of the congregation went forth to meet them."

(Num. 31, 13.) As chiefs of the families are mentioned "the elders of the people" or "the heads of the fathers' houses." That they also had some political power appears from the fact that we sometimes meet them representing the grievances of their houses to Moses and the princes. "And the heads of the fathers' houses appear of the family of the children of Gilead . . . appear before Moses and before the princes, &c." (Num. 36, 1.) The maintenance of the observance of certain laws seems moreover to have been entrusted to them. Their duty, for instance, was to see that the law, protecting the manslayer against the avenger of blood, should not be abused. (Deut. 19, 12.) Besides the "princes of the tribes" and the "heads of the fathers' houses" are named the Shoterim, *i.e.*, Scribes, whose primary office, if we may judge from the meaning of their name, was to keep the family registers, but who also performed the functions of civil officers. Their office, it would appear, originated in Egypt, for in the Exodus we are told that the task masters of Pharaoh placed them over the people, and that they were responsible that the appointed number of bricks was delivered in due time (Ex. ch. 5). In Deuteronomy Moses commands the people to appoint Shoterim "in all their cities" (Deut. 16, 18). The administration of justice was in the hands of "Levites and Judges," of whom the former had to pronounce sentence in questions of a religious nature, the latter in cases of civil dispute. "If there arise a matter too hard for thee in judgment, &c., thou shalt come unto the priests the Levites, and to the judge that shall be in those days: and thou shalt inquire and they shall show thee the sentence of judgment" (Deut. 17, 9. Comp. 2 Chron. ch. 19).

Unless, therefore, we wish to say that Moses should have abolished a form of government which had, under the salutary influence of Egyptian civilization, developed itself out of the ancient patriarchal system, and to which therefore the people easily and naturally submitted themselves, and replaced it by an entirely new institution, subject to all the defects necessarily attendant on every newly established government, the fact that no sufficient provision is made for an executive power cannot be brought forward as an argument against the Mosaic authorship not only of the Book of the Covenant but also



of the other two collections of laws. Nor does the Book of the Covenant contain any law which does not well agree with what is known of the post-Mosaic history of Israel. The law, for instance, permitting the Israelites to build stone altars in different places is in perfect harmony with the customs of Israel in the time of the Judges, Samuel, and Kings. That, on the other hand, the Book of the Covenant gives preference to one sanctuary above others well explains why Jeroboam deemed it necessary, after the separation of the ten tribes, to erect two special sanctuaries, one in Bethel and the other in Dan. (I. Kings 12, 29.) This precaution of Jeroboam shows that there existed in Israel a custom of sacrificing, perhaps on certain festivals, in the temple of Jerusalem. Hence Jeroboam is said to have spoken to himself: "If this people go to offer sacrifices in the house of the Lord at Jerusalem then shall the heart of this people turn again unto their Lord, even unto Rehoboam, king of Juda; and they shall kill me and return to Rehoboam, king of Juda." (I. Kings 12, 27.) Many laws, moreover, but especially those relating to agriculture, are such as we should expect a wise and prudent legislator to have made for a people on the point of settling down and commencing a life devoted to the cultivation of the soil. It is also remarkable that in the Book of the Covenant the feasts of Pentecost and of Tabernacles are known under the primitive names of "Feast of Harvest" and "Feast of Ingathering." (Ex. 23, 16.)

The statement, therefore, attributing this collection to Moses is confirmed by the character of the contents of the book itself.

C. VAN DEN BIESEN.

[*To be concluded*].

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## MODERN STELLAR ASTRONOMY.

*The System of the Stars*: By AGNES M. CLERKE. Longmans, Green & Co.

DURING the keen controversy that was carried on in the early part of the 17th century as to the relative motions of the Earth and the Sun, one of the best and most plausible arguments, from a purely scientific point of view, employed by the defenders of the ancient theory against Copernicus and his followers, was that if the Earth made an annual revolution round the Sun, as these dangerous innovators supposed, the fixed stars ought to undergo an apparent change of place in the heavens, viewed as they must be at different seasons of the year from points widely distant; but that, in point of fact, no such change of position was at all discernible. It must be borne in mind that no one at that time knew even approximately the true distance of the Sun and the length of the diameter of the Earth's orbit, and still less the distances of the stars; but the objection was nevertheless a weighty one. The acute mind of Galileo detected the true answer to it, sound in principle though incorrect in detail; and he put it into the mouth of one of the interlocutors in the famous Dialogue, namely—that the interval of space which separated us from the fixed stars was so vast compared with the Earth's orbit, that such displacement as that in question could not be observed.

Not many years had then elapsed since the telescope had first been turned upon the heavens by Galileo; and astronomy was just in that period of transition, during which, as the late Dr. Whewell remarked when discussing the great discovery of Newton, it “passed at once from its boyhood to mature manhood.” But great as was the progress of the science in the seventeenth and following century, it is mainly within the last fifty years that fresh knowledge has been gained in the branch of astronomy which treats on the Sun and the stars; improved instruments of observation and of measurement, the

spectroscope used with care and discrimination and the modern photographic apparatus, all have contributed to this advance, remarkable and rapid as it has been. It is quite true that many of the ancients, Greeks, Chaldeans, and (at a later period) Arabs, watched the stars with sagacity and attention; but without the telescope their powers were limited, and the access to any extensive knowledge of the subject was hopelessly barred. Still the stars were divided into constellations in the second century of our era, if not before; and these somewhat fanciful divisions have been preserved and new constellations added. In recent times catalogues have been made, in which hundreds of thousands of stars have been registered; some, indeed, are generally known by their numbers in those catalogues, but a common mode of nomenclature is by reference to the constellation to which any one belongs, with a letter from the Greek alphabet to designate the individual;  $\alpha$  being taken for the most notable star in the constellation,  $\beta$  usually for the next, and other letters for the rest. Several large stars have proper names, Arabic, Latin, or Greek; as Sirius, Arcturus, Aldebaran, Regulus, &c.

As astronomy has been developed and more generally understood among persons of cultivated minds, it is natural that a great number of treatises should have been published during the last half century, having for their subject the Heavenly Bodies or some of the more prominent among them. There was, however, an opening for a full and comprehensive work on the vast Stellar Universe, and we think that the want has been well supplied by the book to which we wish to direct the attention of our readers, "*The System of the Stars*," by Miss Agnes Clerke. The authoress is already favourably known to the students of science by her "*History of Astronomy during the Nineteenth Century*," a work that has been compiled with a marvellous amount of care and industry. The present one is devoted, as its title indicates, to the fixed stars, as they are commonly though most inaccurately called; and we may venture to say we believe, without any exaggeration, that no astronomical library will be complete without it.

Not only is it true that little was known, or indeed could be known about the stars before the invention of the telescope,



but we must remember that even then with the imperfect instruments that were at first employed, no great results were attainable.

We may here remark in reference to the argument alleged by the Anti-Copernican party in the days of Galileo, to which we have already alluded, that the answer of the modern astronomer would be slightly different from that of the Italian philosopher at that time. It is true that as regards the majority, the immense majority, of the stars, his reply would be in effect just the same; their enormous distance from our system causes the interval of 184,000,000 miles to be inappreciable in its effect on their position; but he would make an important reservation, and would say that in the case of some 60 stars there really is a minute parallax, or change of place, discernible by means of the accurate instruments we now possess, at the opposite extremities of this mighty diameter of our orbit, and that this result confirms more than ever the truth of the disputed theory. We shall recur, before concluding our article, to this interesting fact: we may, however, remark, in passing, that we now know the mean distance of the Sun from the Earth to be about nineteen times that estimated at the date of Galileo's works, and consequently we infer the distance of even the nearest star to be far greater than any one then supposed. The improvement in our instruments has shown us another thing. Galileo, with his imperfect telescope, concluded that the stars presented really appreciable discs; that has now been discovered to be an optical illusion, and the best modern telescopes show the brightest stars as points of light or at least with discs that are evidently spurious. But if the telescope has failed to show us real discs of those remote bodies, it has multiplied more than a thousandfold their visible number. Different estimates have been made as to how many can be discerned with the naked eye; Professor Young, in his "Text Book of General Astronomy," states it as being between 6,000 and 7,000 in the whole celestial sphere—not a very accurate calculation it is true, but then individual eyes vary considerably in their powers of vision; whilst atmospheric conditions affect the sight to a degree of which we have abundant experience in such a climate as that of England, so that

perfect estimates cannot easily be made. The same author observes that "the sharpest eyes could probably never fairly see more than 2,000 or 3,000 at one time."

But, he adds, "A mere opera glass an inch and a half in diameter brings out at least 100,000. The telescope with which Argelander made his *Durchmusterung* of more than 300,000 stars—all north of the celestial equator—had a diameter of only two inches and a half. The number visible in the great Lick telescope of three feet diameter is probably nearly 100,000,000."

Nor is this all that the telescope does for us; besides revealing in some measure the enormous number of the stars, it enables us to detect what otherwise we should never have guessed, that there are many of these bodies which appear as single bright points to the unassisted eye, but which are really double stars, two suns revolving in an orbit round their common centre of gravity; and in some cases triple and quadruple stars.

And yet, important as the discoveries are, which have been effected by the telescope, it is to another instrument, namely the spectroscope, to which we are indebted for the flood of light that has been thrown during the last 30 years on Stellar, and indeed also on Solar astronomy. The spectroscope, as many of our readers are aware, consists of a prism or train of prisms, by which the light from the sun, or other luminous body, is decomposed by refraction. Instead of a prism, a piece of glass or speculum-metal ruled with many thousand lines, and called a "diffraction grating" is sometimes used: but we will confine our attention to the prism. In its simple form this instrument is familiarly known with its effect in dispersing rays of light and exhibiting thereby the colours of the rainbow. This arises from the fact that rays are refracted according to their colours, some colours more than others; and we need scarcely say that the rainbow itself owes the beauty of its hues to the refraction (just in the same way) of the sunlight by the minute globes of rain. The mere decomposition of rays of various colours would not of itself help us much in investigating the stars, for the dispersion of coloured rays is much the same in them as it is in the Sun; and in neither case does it convey much information as to the chemical components of the bodies in

question. There are however in the solar spectrum, a very large number of dark lines—thousands are visible in an instrument of sufficient power—running perpendicularly across the dispersed colours, and these lines tell a wonderful tale. They are of every variety of strength and faintness; at some parts of the spectrum they are crowded closely, while at other parts there are but few of them. Those who desire to understand spectroscopic science thoroughly and in detail, may be referred to Kirchhoff's standard work; but a good résumé of the subject is given, and in popular language, in Sir Robert Ball's charming work, "*The Story of the Heavens.*"\* The principle on which so much depends is simply this. It is found by experiment that if certain substances are burnt artificially and then viewed through the spectroscope, bright lines will appear in the same position as do the dark lines in the solar spectrum. The coincidence is too remarkable to be set down to mere accident, and it is inferred that the dark lines indicate the presence in the Sun of those same substances with which we make the experiment here on Earth, and which are so familiar to the chemist as existing in various combinations. To make the matter more clear, let us take an instance. There is a well-known line in the spectrum of the Sun usually marked D; this line when seen in a good instrument appears as two lines separated by a very minute interval, one being rather darker than the other. If some common salt be burned in a spirit-lamp held in front of the spectroscope in such a way that the ray of solar light passes through the flame before entering the instrument, the two lines in question flash out with an increased blackness and vividness, owing to the vapour of sodium which arises from the salt burning in the lamp. Then if the sunlight be cut off, and the light from the vapour of sodium in the flame of the lamp be allowed to enter by itself alone, the colours of the rainbow disappear, and the light from the sodium is concentrated into two bright yellow lines filling precisely the same position as did the dark D lines in the solar spectrum. Why, however, it may be asked were these lines rendered more intensely dark in the former portion of

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\* A little book, by the late Mr. Proctor, on the Spectroscope, published as one of the "*Manuals of Elementary Science,*" contains an abundance of information on this subject.



the experiment when the sunlight was passed through the sodium flame? The truth is that the lines in the solar spectrum are dark only by contrast with the brilliancy around, which dazzles the eye of the observer. Now it would naturally seem that the sodium flame, which sends out a certain quantity of light, that light being localised in these two lines, would tend to diminish the darkness of the lines, instead of making them more conspicuous by their increased blackness, as is actually the case; but the sodium flame has the property of cutting off the sunlight in its way to these particular lines, and thus it intercepts more light than it contributes itself, the consequence being that the lines become darker.

The remarkable phenomenon, which has been verified by many experiments, is that we perceive in this instance of the sodium vapour that light from the Sun passes through it without perceptible absorption *excepting of those particular rays* corresponding to the dark lines above-mentioned; while at the same time we find that the sodium vapour itself when heated gives out a peculiar light which when seen through the prism is concentrated in the position occupied by these (so-called) D lines. "In other words"—to quote the language of Sir Robert Ball, of whose lucid explanation we have been availing ourselves in an abridged form—"we say that if the heated vapour of a substance gives a spectrum of bright lines, corresponding to lights of various refrangibilities, this same vapour will act as an opaque screen to lights of these special refrangibilities, while remaining transparent to light of every other kind!" He takes as another example the element of iron, of which there are some hundreds of dark lines in the solar spectrum, corresponding that is to the bright lines which can be observed in the light of an electric spark from poles of iron, when viewed through the prism. The identity of position of the lines, when compared, is so striking as to lead us almost irresistibly to the conclusion that iron is present in some form or other in the Sun; and it is inferred that the vapour of this metal, intensely heated, is a constituent of the atmosphere that surrounds the luminous strata on his surface. Iron and sodium, it should be stated, are not by any means the only terrestrial substances the presence of which in

the Sun has been thus discovered : hydrogen, barium, magnesium, aluminium, copper, lead, and potassium being also present.

The stars show a spectrum greatly resembling that of the Sun, but differing from it considerably in the distribution of the dark lines,—as to which also the stars differ from each other. To illustrate this Sir Robert Ball gives a plate with four *coloured* spectra in juxtaposition, those of the Sun, in which however only a few of the principal lines are drawn,—Sirius, Aldebaran, and Betelgeuse, thus showing us the three principal types of stars. The spectra of nebulae, we may remark, are unlike any of these ; some nebulae giving a spectrum of six or seven bright lines, leading us to the conclusion that their light proceeds mainly from luminous gas ; while others give a continuous spectrum, unmarked by any lines or bands, either bright or dark, and by no means easy to interpret. To return however to the stars,—we have said that there are three principal types, though there are some stars that seem to occupy an intermediate position between the classes ; and they have been so divided, notably by the German astronomer Vogel, who however subdivided each class. Father Secchi, who examined the spectra of several thousands of them with a view to classification, divides them all into four types. The first of these consists of the intensely white stars, Sirius and Vega being prominent examples ; in these there are comparatively few lines ; the second is composed of stars with a spectrum substantially like that of the Sun, Capella and Pollux being striking specimens of the type ; the third includes most of the red or variable stars, and the spectrum is characterised by dark bands (probably due to carbon), lines being generally present also that indicate the existence of metals ; but the great feature in this class is the absence more or less of the hydrogen lines ; Betelgeuse ( $\alpha$  Orionis) and Mira ( $\alpha$  Ceti) are examples of the third type ; F. Secchi's fourth class contains a small number of stars, mostly small red stars ; the spectrum is a banded one, and there are usually a number of bright lines.

Then there are certain stars not included in any of the foregoing classes which are said to be *gaseous* stars, and the spectrum of which resembles that of Stellar nebulae, without however being indetical.

We trust that our readers will pardon this long explanation of the principle on which spectroscopic investigation rests. Miss Clerke, whose work (though full of information interesting to all) is primarily intended for proficients in astronomical study,—pre-supposes an acquaintance with the principle in question; but general readers may not always be so fully aware of modern scientific discoveries as to dispense with some explanation. Miss Clerke, we should say, particularly notices one great step that has been made in recent years, namely, the application of photography to astronomy. It has been found that this art, which has now attained such high perfection, can show us stars which from their faintness might escape observation when viewed directly by the telescope; and can render visible details in the solar and other spectra, which not even the most practised eye would otherwise detect. Chapters iii., iv., v., and vi., in the work before us, are devoted to the classification of the stars and the important questions that have arisen as to the comparative age of these mysterious bodies, as to their evolution, and as to their future destiny. This portion of Miss Clerke's book has more than any other been subjected to the criticism of scientific men. One critic went so far as to express a wish that the authoress had confined herself to stating the opinions held by various astronomers on these questions, without giving any opinion of her own. It is not, however, easy to give a simple register of the opinions of others without expressing an opinion of one's own, at least in the case of persons who have any knowledge of their subject; and in this particular instance the authoress is probably not stating her own views merely, but also those of eminent men, whose assistance she gracefully acknowledges in her preface; foremost among these being Dr. Gill, H.M. Astronomer at the Cape, whose guest we believe she was when she undertook a voyage to the Cape in order to observe the southern skies; Dr. Gill, she tells us, read over several of the chapters of the present work in manuscript. It is not of course to be understood that every one who discharges this friendly office necessarily agrees with the details of the work that he revises; but so able a man as Dr. Gill, we may well presume, would not read through the manuscript in vain.

We do not propose to enter into a minute discussion on the



controverted questions arising from spectroscopic analysis: we will, however, briefly indicate the points where Miss Clerke differs from the general opinion of previous authors. It is commonly held that the stars of the first type, the Sirian stars as they are often called, in which it is evident that hydrogen at a very high temperature is a prominent element, are above all others the hottest. Those of the second or solar type are considered to be at a lower temperature; and some astronomers, Mr. Lockyer we believe especially, would divide them into two groups, one whose temperature is increasing in which would be included Aldebaran, and Cygni, and Altair:\* the other of which the heat is decreasing, among these being Procyon, Capella, Arcturus, and the Sun.

Miss Clerke thinks otherwise; she does not (if we understand her rightly) believe there is sufficient evidence to show that the Sirian stars are hotter than the others. She says, however, in one passage, "We must \* \* \* define what we mean by saying that one star is hotter than another. The expression, otherwise open to misunderstanding, conveys, as used here, simply that the temperature of the emitting surface is higher in one case than the other. The photosphere is at an intenser glow; the heat is more concentrated at a particular level."

Then, as regards the Sun, which most astronomers suppose to be a gradually cooling body, Miss Clerke holds a far different opinion; she "surmises" that the Sun has passed through stages resembling those in which such stars as Betelgeuse and Aldebaran now are, and she is disposed to think that he will hereafter become a "white star" of the Sirian type, such as Vega is at present; also that the Sun is quite as likely, or more likely, to become hotter instead of becoming cooler. It must be distinctly understood that no one supposes any appreciable change in the temperature of the Sun to have taken place within *historical* times; the change, whatever it was, occurred before man appeared on the Earth, how long ago we know not. It is, of course, inevitable that opinions should vary, and that very widely, in questions of Stellar evolution, seeing that we have such uncertain data to go upon; but as regards our

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\* Miss Clerke places this star among those of the first type; or between the two; it seems that its spectrum differs from both.

own Sun the great majority of scientific writers believe that this temperature is gradually decreasing by infinitesimal steps; indeed, the authoress of the work before us will not deny that such will probably be the *ultimate* condition of the sun, but she holds that he will pass first through a stage of increased temperature: she thinks that the "electrical repulsion," which she supposes to exist in the Sun, counteracts in some measure the force of gravity, but that this electrical repulsion is diminishing, and gravity therefore increasing, and that if this be so "the heavier metallic vapours would then altogether drop out of sight under the photosphere; those that remained would exercise but a feeble absorption; hydrogen would remain concentrated and predominant." Under these circumstances, the Sun would come to resemble more the Sirian type of stars, where hydrogen is so prominent, and its heat and light would increase. The theory of electrical repulsion is due to Dr. Huggins, but the inferences that he draws are quite different.

We may mention that several of the Sirian stars, white as they are termed, have yet a faint blue tinge. Some astronomers, notably Professor Langley, maintain that our own Sun is a blue star, but that the blue rays are intercepted by the atmosphere, and the Sun consequently appears to us as a yellow star, so that he is generally reckoned in that category. It is generally agreed, and Miss Clerke does not in this respect differ from others, that the "nebulae merge into unmistakeable Suns;" passing doubtless through an intermediate phase. Formerly they were supposed to be made up of a multitude of stars too small to be distinctly observed even with powerful telescopes; but this idea is now quite abandoned, and it seems probable that they somewhat resemble comets in their constitution, often on a gigantic scale.

Our authoress devotes three chapters full of interesting information to temporary and variable stars. Few persons, excepting students of the science, are probably aware how many of these exist or have existed. The most remarkable of the temporary stars, those that have become conspicuous for a time and then faded away, was one in the Constellation Cassiopica, first noticed by Lindauer and Maurolycus, and shortly afterwards (11th November, 1572), by Tycho Brahé. It became, so it seems at least, brighter than the planet Venus,

since persons with keen eyes could see it in full daylight. After about three weeks it began to fade, and disappeared in March, 1574. It is supposed by some observers (but erroneously so in all probability) to be still faintly visible in the constellation Cassiopeia. A star observed by Kepler in the year 1604 was nearly as bright as this last, and it lasted for two years. It has long since disappeared. There have been about twelve, or as some reckon eighteen, of these temporary stars since the year 134 B.C., when Hipparchus discovered one. Among these were Nova Cygni observed in 1876, which rose to the brightness of a star of the second magnitude, remained so for a day or two and then faded away to become a minute telescopic star which it now is, and in 1885 there appeared one of the sixth magnitude in the midst of the great nebula in Andromeda, which has now wholly vanished. During this present year a star previously invisible has been observed in the constellation Auriga. Even as we write it so happens that the indefatigable authoress of the work before us has contributed an article on this very subject to the *Contemporary Review*. It is a curious fact that this celestial body, incalculably distant as it was, seems to have been photographed so to speak unconsciously at Harvard College in America, before Mr. Anderson observed it at Edinburgh in February last, and announced it to the scientific world as a new and temporary star. It was soon examined with the spectroscope, and the presence of hydrogen, sodium, and calcium was detected. It was found by watching the displacement of the lines in the spectrum, that the star appeared to be both approaching and receding from us, and at an enormous velocity, so that it was eventually concluded that it was composed of two distinct bodies, travelling in opposite directions, and separating from each other at the rate of 720 English miles per second, or 62,000,000 miles in a day. It seemed as if these bodies were moving in hyperbolas, going no one knows whither, runaway stars as they are sometimes called, acted on by some other force besides that of gravity; bearing out we may remark (if this be true), the opinion of the late Dr. Croll, that there are other forces at work in the universe in addition to the great force of gravitation—with which, however, we are not acquainted. It has been further conjectured that Nova Aurigæ (as this strange

visitor has been called), is enormously distant, and that light takes more than 100 years to travel from the star to our Earth. Here, however, we are wandering in the regions of uncertainty, but an article contributed by Dr. Huggins to a recent number of the *Fortnightly Review*, on this subject, is well worthy of perusal, coming from the pen of such an expert. Variable stars, properly so called, are those of which the brilliancy is liable to increase and decrease, generally speaking, at regular intervals, though there are many that are irregular. Of the former there are said to be about 160, and they are divided into those with long and those with short periods. Of the first of these two classes the most noteworthy perhaps is in the constellation of the Whale, and bears the name of Mira Ceti. It has been known to reach the second or even first magnitude, and generally sinks down to the ninth. Its mean period is 331 days. We are told that it emits at certain intervals 1500 times as much light as at other times. Its spectrum is of the third type. Another remarkable one is known as  $\eta$  Argus, commonly invisible to the naked eye; it has occasionally attained a brightness second only to that of Sirius. There is some question as to its period, but Miss Clerke puts it at 90 years or more. It belongs to the Southern hemisphere. Of the variables of short period we learn that there are thirty-eight whose oscillations are completed within fifty days, several of these, indeed, in much less time. With a few exceptions they are all white or yellow stars; one known as  $\beta$  Lyrae, a double star, gives a gaseous spectrum.

The most noteworthy of all is the one called Algol in the Constellation Perseus: it is usually a star of the second magnitude, and in a period of nearly two days, 21 hours, it goes through a cycle of variations; in the course of three or four hours its brightness declines from the second to the fourth magnitude, thus it remains for about twenty minutes, and in three or four hours more regains its former brightness; then in about 2 days 13 hours the same change takes place again. It is supposed that this strange phenomenon is caused by a dark satellite which partially eclipses the star, and that the two revolve round a common centre of gravity. Professor Vogel by certain spectroscopic observations which may be alluded to further on for the purpose of explanation, has made a calcula-



tion of the probable details of the system; he supposes the diameter of Algol to be 1,061,000 miles, that of the satellite 830,300. The distance from centre to centre 3,230,000; the mass of Algol to be  $\frac{4}{9}$ , and that of the satellite  $\frac{2}{9}$  of the mass of the Sun; it has however, been recently suggested that there is a third body, a member of the same system, a dark one, which makes itself known by the perturbations it causes. It seems also highly probable that the density of these bodies is less than a quarter that of the Sun, so that they would seem to be wholly gaseous. We strongly recommend those who desire to acquire valuable information about variable stars to read carefully chapters VIII. and IX. of Miss Clerke's book.

The following chapter is devoted to the colours of the stars, and it is curious to observe that some have been formerly reckoned among red stars, to which no one now would apply such a name; for instance, so great an astronomer of ancient days as Ptolemy mentions Sirius as a red star. There is no doubt that several stars do vary in tint from time to time; but what astronomers call "personal equation" is probably answerable for a good deal; there are many men whose eyesight is otherwise good, but who are partially affected with colour blindness, an inability that is to distinguish accurately certain colours from others. Besides this, atmospheric conditions may easily, at occasional times, mislead observers in such a delicate matter.

We have already attended to double stars, and three chapters in the work before us afford us many interesting details on this subject, and that of multiple stars, for there are doubles of doubles, and even still more complicated systems in the Stellar Universe. Our authoress tells us that

\* A double star is one that divides into two with the help of a more or less powerful telescope. The effect is a strange, and might have appeared beforehand a most unlikely one. Yet it is of quite ordinary occurrence. Double Stars are no freak of nature, but part of her settled plan, or rather they enter systematically into the design of the Mind which is in and above Nature. The first recognised specimen of the class was  $\zeta$  Ursæ Majoris, the middle horse of the plough, called by the Arabs 'Mizar' which Riccioli found at Bologna in 1650, to consist of a  $2\frac{1}{2}$  and a 4 magnitude star. . . . Both are radiantly white, and they make a glorious object.

Other observers followed, especially in 1776, Father Christian Mayer, who discovered thirty three. Sir William Herschel soon after added a large number; and at present about 12,000 have been registered; of these between 600 and 700 are said to be visibly revolving round one another, or more properly speaking round their common centre of gravity. Some of the most notable stars in the heavens are double. Sirius, brilliant above all others, has a companion of very faint brightness and only visible in a very powerful telescope. The star which has a special interest as being (so far as we know) by far the nearest of all these remote bodies to our own system— $\alpha$  Centauri is double. Those that are known to be in orbital revolution are generally called “binary stars,” and the finest specimen in the northern hemisphere is Castor, or  $\alpha$  Geminorum. It is calculated that the orbit of the two which compose Castor is so vast that it takes nearly a thousand years to complete the circuit. “In  $\alpha$  Centauri,” we are told, “are combined two stars so brilliant that the lesser though emitting only one-third as much light as its neighbour, is still fully entitled to rank as of the first magnitude.” They are much nearer to each other than in the case of Castor; and their light is said to be about two-and-a-half times that of the Sun. We may mention that some of the double stars are variable in the light they give. There is a table of these about 35 in number in Miss Clerke’s appendix. Few phenomena in the heavens are more worthy of consideration than these double stars. If there are any people who suppose that the Sun with his system of planets is exactly reproduced in those millions of bright points of light that we see in the sky, they must be wholly ignorant of what modern scientific research has revealed to us. For we believe we are fairly accurate in stating that about 12,000 double stars have been already discovered; and who shall say how many thousands more there may be, which (owing to their enormous distances) appear in the best instruments as yet constructed to be single stars, but are really double or perhaps even triple? It is obvious that in these systems everything must be widely different from what we are accustomed to witness when we watch the planets that circle round our own Sun. We can scarcely imagine what a

disturbance would be created here if there were another Sun equal, or nearly equal, in mass to that with which we are already familiar, and revolving mutually with him round a common centre. It is not, of course, intended to deny that the double stars may possibly each have one or more planets attending them; nor on the other hand that there may be a very great number of single stars, like our Sun, nor must we deny that there may be in some instances vast massive bodies, comparatively dark and cool, equalling and perhaps surpassing their neighbouring suns, if not in volume at least in mass. All that we mean is to point out how difficult, almost impossible, it is to draw any satisfactory inference as to the constitution of these remote systems from the limited experience that we have of our own. And this lesson is still more clearly brought home to us as we turn to a very instructive chapter in Miss Clerke's book on "Multiple Stars:" for the great advance in the construction of telescopes has made us acquainted with another remarkable phenomenon, and has shown us that several stars, hitherto considered as double, are in fact triple and even quadruple; indeed, the authoress says: "The visible complexity of Stellar systems has increased so rapidly as to inspire a suspicion that simple binary combinations may be the exception rather than the rule."

One of the most striking instances of this complexity (if we may so term it) and one that exemplifies a remark we have just made about cool dark bodies of great size, is the one known as  $\xi$  Cancri; "it is composed," we are told, "of three bright members and one obscure one, all in comparatively rapid mutual circulation." The observation of the third bright body was made by the elder Herschel, to whom indeed is due so large a portion of the discovery of double stars; and the whole were subsequently watched by his son Sir John Herschel and others. The existence of the dark body is merely an inference drawn from the movements of the three bright ones, and it is surmised that the dark globe is the most massive of all, having one of those strangely organised Suns as a Satellite, the other two being possibly in much the same situation. If this be so, of all the wonderful phenomena in the Universe this is perhaps unique; at any rate it exhibits

an entire reversal of the conditions supposed to prevail elsewhere. Whether this cool central body, assuming it to exist as described, is peopled with intelligent beings, and is teeming with animal and vegetable life, or whether it is bare and desolate like the Moon, we know not, and we never can discover; we may indulge in endless conjectures, but beyond these we may safely say we cannot hope to advance.

Sir William Herschel found the star called  $\sigma$  Orionis, one of the third or fourth magnitude, just beneath the middle star in the belt of Orion, to be "double-treble." Subsequent observers think they have detected still more members of the system. There is a well-known nebula in this constellation, and it has been imagined that there is some connection, of which we cannot perceive the nature, between this nebula and the double or multiple stars in its vicinity.

There are about five hundred *clusters* of stars in the heavens, many if not all of which are probably in some physical connection and mutual dependence on each other. The most renowned of all these is the Pleiades, to which Miss Clerke allots an entire chapter. This group is historically interesting from the impression it seems to have made on the minds of some ancient nations, and from mythological ideas associated with it. Seven stars can be generally seen in a clear sky with the unaided eye, and some persons have seen twelve or even fourteen. Miss Clerke tells us that a telescope with an object glass scarcely more than two inches in diameter showed to the celebrated astronomer Robert Hooke in 1664 A.D. 78 stars, while the photographic processes of the present day have raised the number to 2,326. But it should be added that it is doubtful if all these belong really to the group or whether they are referred to it by perspective; the latter is in some instances much more probable.

It seems almost certain that the distance of Alcyone, the brightest of the cluster of the Pleiades, from the Earth is enormous, even compared with other stellar distances. An attempt has been made, not indeed to calculate it accurately, but to estimate it roughly from the supposed movement of the Sun in space; the result gives, we are told, nearly 1,500 billions of miles, which would take light 250 years to traverse—and this as a minimum distance. This magnificent star is said to



shine with a brilliancy 1,000 times that of the Sun, whilst some others of the group are probably far inferior. It is hardly necessary to say that there is much uncertainty in these calculations.

There are some globular clusters in the heavens, among which may be mentioned a beautiful one in the constellation of the Centaur, not of course visible in these latitudes, and one in Hercules, a very large one, estimated by Sir William Herschel to contain 14,000 stars, and supposed to be 558,000 millions of miles in diameter; Sir William Herschel's estimate is probably much too great. The component stars are generally of the twelfth magnitude.

Clusters lead us on to nebulæ, and in fact it is probable that these objects form as it were an unbroken series, clusters being developed from nebulæ, and the two sometimes, as in the case of the Pleiades, seem to be grouped together. Several thousand nebulæ have been discovered, and there are various classes of them, our authoress making eight of these, which however, frequently overlap each other. The two most striking are those in Andromeda and in Orion, the former of which is the only real nebula that can easily be detected by the naked eye. There is a fine one, though smaller, in Ursa Major. These bodies appear to "consist of enormous volumes of gaseous material, controlled by nuclear condensations." There are, however, some which are not, properly speaking, gaseous. In some respects they resemble comets, though the spectra of the two are unlike each other.

We have a chapter in Miss Clerke's work (chapter XXIII.) devoted to the Milky Way. This vast aggregation of stars is such a vivid object in the sky and arrests the attention so powerfully that it well deserves some special consideration—all the more that the Sun with our own system of planets is situated within it. We do not know that the Milky Way can be better defined than in the words of Professor Young—"A luminous belt which surrounds the heavens nearly in a great circle. It varies much in width and brightness, and for about a third of its extent, from Cygnus to Scorpio, is divided into two nearly parallel streams. . . . In the constellation of Centaurus there is a dark pear-shaped orifice—"the coal sack." It is mainly made up of small stars from the eighth

magnitude downwards, and contains a large number of star clusters, but few genuine nebulæ. There are masses and clouds of stars in it which the telescope fails to analyse. Even the great Lick telescope, with its 36 inch aperture, the largest refractor as yet mounted, is unable to resolve the finer parts into stars.

Those who are interested in the Milky Way should read through the chapter in the work before us, where the different explanations of its complicated phenomena, "disc-theories," "ring-theories," "spiral-theories," are discussed. "What is unmistakable," the authoress tells us, "is that the entire formation, whether single or compound, is no isolated phenomenon. All the contents of the firmament are arranged with reference to it. It is a large part of a larger scheme, exceeding the compass of finite minds to grasp in its entirety."

A similar observation is applicable to the following chapter on the status of the Nebulæ, in which the various opinions as to their distribution are considered. Here, too, are discussed the Greater and Less Magellanic Clouds, huge nebulous masses belonging to the southern hemisphere, described by Sir John Herschel as consisting "partly of large tracts and ill-defined patches of irresolvable nebulæ and of nebulosity in every stage of resolution . . . and of clustering groups sufficiently insulated and condensed to come under the designation of clusters of stars."

Those who see the heavens only with the naked eye can have no idea of the great number of nebulæ which exist; strange mysterious bodies, some of them probably parents of future suns, others remaining perhaps for countless ages in the same invariable state. Miss Clerke discusses their general position and distribution, upon which we do not now purpose to dwell; they seem to be extremely remote from our system, showing for the most part no sign of proper motion, so that our authoress says, "In no single case has either visual change of place or spectroscopic alteration due to recession or approach been ascertained." But Dr. Huggins, in his presidential address to the British Association at Cardiff, which we may remark was delivered since the publication of Miss Clerke's book, states decidedly that *there is* such motion, in some instances at least. "Mr. Keeler," he tells us, "has found in

the examination of ten nebulæ motions, varying from two miles to twenty seven miles, with one exceptional motion of nearly forty miles." The nebula in Orion has (according to the same observer) a velocity of about 10 miles a second: but this appearance may very possibly be really caused, so Dr. Huggins thinks, by the advance of the Sun with our whole system through space.

In the concluding chapter of her work Miss Clerke alludes to a zone of large stars traversing the southern hemisphere, which seems to be a kind of subordinate stratum, deviating about twenty degrees from parallelism to the Milky Way. We will not enter into the intricacies of the questions connected with this; it may suffice to say that it has been surmised that our own Sun is connected physically with the zone or belt to which we refer, as the direction of its movement agrees with the general "lie" of the belt. In this same chapter,—entitled, "The Construction of the Heavens"—mention is made of the speculations of Mr. Maxwell Hall as to the centre of attraction which influences the Solar movement, as well as that of other stars, but no satisfactory result has been attained in this respect, nor any really probable hypothesis established. The authoress indeed seems to think that beyond a certain point speculation is useless and hopeless. The Universe, she believes, as it now exists will pass away, and the "frigid temperature of space" reign in the numerous bodies which once were Suns. Yet there may be a renovation for "He who made the heavens can restore them." She constantly seizes the opportunity, as a good Catholic, to direct our thoughts to God, the Creator and Disposer of all things. Her work indeed may well be recommended not only to astronomers, but to all intelligent readers, who have the skill to select the portions of it which have a general interest attaching to them, omitting if they please, technical details. We have not ourselves exactly followed the order of the book in the observations we have ventured to make upon it; and so we have left until almost the last the remarks that occur to us regarding some of the most noteworthy discoveries of modern astronomy. If the telescope has revealed to us (in a measure at least) the number of the stars, and the spectroscope has taught us something of their constitution;—instruments

known as the wire-micrometer and the heliometer have been applied in the determination of the distances of these remote bodies, that is to say of the comparatively few among them that are amenable to such treatment—for the distances of the great majority are beyond all calculation; while the spectroscope has contributed a piece of information so startling as to be almost incredible were it not stamped with the authority of men of the highest scientific attainments. We will take this last discovery first for the purpose of explanation. It has been found that if a star is approaching us, the lines visible in the spectroscope will be shifted toward the blue end of the spectrum: if it is receding, then the lines will be shifted towards the red end. Dr. Huggins was the first to employ this method of calculating the movements of the stars along the line of sight; and the velocity of their motion has been even ascertained in several instances, though there must be some uncertainty in the values so arrived at. Sirius was calculated to be receding from us at the rate of 19 miles per second though later observations show that he is again approaching us; and Arcturus was stated to be approaching us at the rate of 60 miles per second. Several others have also been subjected to the same process, and Miss Clerke gives a table of the principal ones in the appendix to her book.

The theory of this method has been verified by observations on the Sun, for it applies to him as to all luminous bodies; and this is done by comparing the spectra of the eastern and western edges, the former of which approaches us while the latter recedes owing to the Sun's rotation on his axis. The result thus obtained for the velocity of rotation of the Sun practically coincides with that otherwise known, thereby strongly confirming the correctness of the principle in question. A further application of this mode of calculation is due chiefly to Professor Pickering; certain binary stars revolving round one another, if it so happen that one is approaching the Earth while the other is receding, will, on being observed with the spectroscope, show the lines of the approaching star to be displaced relatively to those of the receding one. By taking photographs of the spectra on successive days, it is possible to calculate the time the two stars occupy in their mutual revolution, and also the comparative velocity with which they



move. From this we may proceed to measure the dimensions of their orbit, and even to ascertain their masses, or mechanical weights. "Could anything," says Sir Robert Ball in his work already referred to, "show more wonderfully how the different branches of science have become interwoven than the fact that, by looking at a beam of light through a prism, we have been able to weigh the star from which the light has come?"

In order however to determine the real dimensions of the orbit of these bodies, we ought to know their distance; and to this we now come. We need not say that they are much too remote to show what is termed *diurnal* parallax, that is in other words, to undergo that apparent displacement in the heavens when viewed from different stations on the Earth, which the Moon for instance does, and which enables us to calculate her distance with great accuracy, but some of them do (as we have already stated) undergo a minute displacement when viewed from opposite extremities of the Earth's annual orbit. What is technically called diurnal parallax is in fact the angle subtended by the semi-diameter of the Earth itself when observed by an imaginary eye on the Moon (or other heavenly body); what is termed annual parallax is the angle subtended by the semi-diameter of the Earth's orbit to the eye of an imaginary observer on a star. It is far from easy to calculate this latter; but if once correctly calculated, it gives us the distance of the star by a simple process of trigonometry. Now the best way of conducting this delicate and intricate investigation is to take one or more stars in the apparent neighbourhood of the one whose distance you are calculating and to determine by careful observations at different periods of the year the displacement in its position with reference to these others. The star you are investigating ought to appear to describe a small ellipse, corresponding to the Earth's elliptical orbit, while the comparison-stars (so to call them) which seem to be in its neighbourhood but are in reality very much more remote from us, should, if perfectly selected, remain stationary on account of their almost infinite distance. The displacements of this nature are most minute, and a risk of error arises from the fact that the "comparison-stars" may not be absolutely stationary: vast though their distance may be yet they may describe an infinitesimal (apparent) ellipse,

sufficient to derange the calculation. Nevertheless by repeated observations properly conducted, this source of error may be fairly avoided—and in fact a number of stars observed, long and carefully in this way, have yielded satisfactory results. The first of all the successful calculations was in the case of a star in the constellation of the Swan, known as 61 Cygni; it is a double star, not by any means a bright one, but owing to peculiarly favourable circumstances, it was a more tractable object than many others. Bessel first discovered its parallax, but subsequent observations by Struve and others have corrected the original calculation. Struve also found the parallax of the bright star known as Vega, and Henderson that of  $\alpha$  Centauri, the nearest star so far as can be ascertained, of any in the heavens, and both of these have been subjected to later correction, in the case of Vega a question having been raised even whether it shows any sensible parallax. Those who are interested in learning the distances of the stars may consult a table that Miss Clerke gives of 52, the parallax of which has been found; but she states the distances not in miles but in the number of years that light occupies in travelling from them to the earth. We may mention that she follows Dr. Gill, and probably she is right in doing so in the case of  $\alpha$  Centauri; he makes the parallax  $0''.75$ , which compounds to a distance of about 25 billions of miles, and  $4.35$  "light-years." The older calculations brought it nearer by 4 or 5 billions of miles. This double star belongs to the southern hemisphere, and is invisible in Europe. Sirius appears with a parallax of  $0''.39$  and a distance of 8 light-years, or 46 billions of miles—also 61 Cygni with a parallax of  $0''.432$  and a distance of  $7\frac{1}{2}$  light-years, or about 43 billions of miles; this last is said to be moving with a velocity of 30 miles per second and in the direction of our own system.

As to Arcturus, Miss Clerke, judging from its excessive remoteness, combined with its brightness, believes that it is "perhaps the most stupendous Sun within our imperfect cognisance;" the character too of its spectrum makes it probable that it is very massive; moreover the velocity of its proper motion in space "can only be termed portentous." We have already alluded to photography as contributing most effectively to astronomical investigations, and the improved

methods that have come into use have added to its value. There is now in progress, at different observatories, a complete photographic chart of the heavens; and an important instalment of this great work arrived not long since from the Cape of Good Hope, where Dr. Gill is occupied in that portion of the chart which falls to his lot. It is said that some 50,000 stars appear in what is seemingly a very small spot in the sky, an exposure of not less than three hours being necessary for obtaining this result. There is no doubt that the photographic process enables us to detect stars which elude direct observation with the eye even when aided by the best telescopes. It has also been employed with considerable success in determining Stellar parallax, especially in the case of the less bright stars. Professor Pritchard at Oxford, has done good and valuable service in this department.

While we are on the subject of photography, we ought not to omit the mention of the admirable plates in Miss Clerke's work, reproduced from photographs taken by the very best observers.

The authoress in one passage calls our attention to what she terms "the extreme isolation of the Solar system." . . . "About the same proportion would be borne by an oasis one mile across to a desert twenty times as extensive as the Sahara, that our Sun with his entire planetary household bears to the encompassing void of space." This is indeed a fact well worthy of being carefully noted. However nearly some other stars may be grouped together, our Sun seems to stand far apart from the rest.

We proceed to touch on some interesting conclusions drawn from modern discoveries. One is that the double stars that revolve round one another, that is round their common centre of gravity, appear to move in *ellipses*, from which we justly infer (as was already in the highest degree probable) that the same law of gravitation prevails in those distant regions as in our system.

And this being so, we are enabled to calculate, at least with some approximation to truth, the masses of these "binary stars." The mass of a body may be defined as the quantity of matter it contains; and the masses of bodies are proportional to their weights; so the calculation to which we refer, is

sometimes called *weighing* the stars. It seems indeed at first sight incredible that such a process could be carried out, even roughly and inaccurately; yet so it is. We need not trouble our readers with any mathematical formulæ, but those who are desirous of understanding the principle on which the calculation is based, may be referred to Sir Robert Ball's work, already mentioned (p. 388, edition 1890), where a good popular explanation is given; and of this we will give a brief sketch, without entering into minute detail. Take a binary star (Sir Robert Ball takes Sirius), then take a planet in our own system (he takes Neptune), of which we know the distance from the Sun, and the period of revolution. We are supposed to know also the distance between Sirius and his massive but not brilliant companion; and the time of revolution round their common centre of gravity. Moreover, we can calculate, from Kepler's third law, the period of revolution which Neptune would have, if he were at the same distance from the Sun, that the companion of Sirius is from him. Then, comparing these last two, that is the respective times of revolution, we can by the aid of certain dynamical principles infer the proportion that the combined masses of Sirius and his attendant, bear to that of the Sun. According to the calculation given in Miss Clerke's book, founded, we imagine on the opinion of Dr. Gill, the proportion in question is 5.8 to 1. Sir Robert Ball makes it considerably larger, because he takes apparently a smaller parallax for Sirius, and therefore supposes his distance from our own system to be much greater. It seems that the mass of Sirius, is only about twice that of his companion, though his brilliancy is 5000 times as great; so that this latter body, which exceeds our Sun in mass, is far inferior to him in brightness, while Sirius himself, though so very much more brilliant, does not surpass the Sun in mass (or perhaps in volume) to the degree that we might have expected. That is to say, mass and brilliancy are quite separate things, and do not necessarily go together.

We may mention that the two stars comprising  $\alpha$  Centauri, our nearest neighbour in the Stellar Universe, are 2.14 times the mass of the Sun.

Two interesting chapters in the work we are reviewing discuss the "Translation of the Solar System," and the



“Proper motion of the Stars.” Since the time of Sir William Herschel the opinion has existed that the Sun with his accompanying system of planets is moving along in space under the attraction of some vast body, unknown to us. It is now, we believe, the universal opinion of astronomers that such a motion is taking place, but where the attracting body is, or what is its precise nature, we have no means of judging; possibly there may be some other law at work besides that of gravitation. The evidence for the Sun’s movement in space may not be conclusive, but it is so well founded, as to leave but little doubt in an intelligent mind. Certain stars in a particular part of the heavens appear to open out gradually as time goes on, very slightly it is true, but still appreciably; while those in the opposite direction tend to close in upon one another. The inference is, of course, a solid and strong one, though not absolutely certain—and it is to the effect that Sun, Earth, and Planets are moving towards the first mentioned point. The “proper motions” of the stars themselves embarrass the calculation, yet the errors arising in consequence have been to a great extent eliminated by care and perseverance, and comparatively trustworthy results arrived at. The point to which we are thus journeying is generally believed to be situated in the Constellation Hercules; but one able observer, M. Homann, finds another point some way to the eastward, near the place of 61 Cygni. The rate of movement is probably about 15 miles per second, or slightly less. The direction is in any case far away from the plane of the Earth’s orbit, so that we are apparently describing a kind of spiral curve in our journey towards this uncertain goal. We may add that if a point in Hercules be the right direction, we are receding gradually from the Milky Way.

The Sun’s path, though seeming to the eye of a terrestrial observer to be a straight line, is in all probability an enormous ellipse.

A strong *a priori* argument for the reality of this supposed motion of the Sun and his system, is that the other stars, at least many of them, and possibly all of them, are also in motion, and if this be so, why should the Sun be an exception to the general, perhaps universal rule? The number of those whose proper motion has been established by observation is, Miss

Clarke tells us, less than 5000. The task of observing is a complicated one, for corrections have to be made for the *merely apparent* movement due to the aberration of light, and also for that due to the Sun's motion, of which we have just been treating, to say nothing of the difficulty of estimating correctly the direction of the paths pursued by these distant bodies; but astronomical perseverance is indomitable, and generally succeeds sooner or later. We have already alluded to the rapid approach or recession of certain stars in the line of sight, as shown by the spectroscopes. Several have also been discovered to have a velocity *across* the visual ray; to ascertain accurately the true motion, compounded as it often is of these two, is of course difficult if not utterly impossible.

The stars that are moving most rapidly are the one called 1,830 Groombridge (because it bears that number in Groombridge's catalogue); one that is numbered 9,352 by Lacaille; 161 Cygni;  $\alpha$  Centauri;  $\mu$  Cassiopeiæ; and a few others. Our authoress puts Arcturus before all others in rapidity of motion, the calculation she follows being probably based on its swift movement in the line of sight, while other calculations are based upon the movement in a transverse direction.

Some of these velocities are beyond what we can account for by the known laws of gravitation. This perhaps adds some weight to the late Dr. Croll's theory, that there are other laws at work in the sidereal universe besides gravity, of the nature of which we are ignorant. Miss Clerke asks if the visible sidereal system, in which these unaccountable velocities exist, is threatened with dissolution; or whether we must suppose the chief part of its attractive energy to reside in unseen non-luminous bodies; to which she replies: "No answer is possible; conjecture is futile. We are only sure that what we can feebly trace is but a part of a mighty whole, and that on every side our imperfect knowledge is compassed about by the mystery of the Infinite." Thus, as we have already remarked, she endeavours to raise our thoughts from the contemplation of the material universe to the Almighty Being, to whom it owes its origin, and from whom it derives the laws that it obeys.

To ourselves it seems that such thought is a kind of safeguard to preserve our intellects from utter bewilderment.

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Even as it is, the knowledge of the stupendous world of stars, some exceeding our own Sun in brightness and in bulk, others varying in quality, in size, and in the character of their surroundings—as it pictures itself to our imagination, is almost appalling: whether we dwell on the vast number of the stars perhaps 100,000,000, perhaps more, of which 650,000, we are told, have been actually registered,—or whether we try to realize the enormous intervals that separate them from us, intervals measured for convenience sake by the number of years that light occupies in travelling from them—light with its velocity of 184,000 miles and more in a second—the effect is simply dazzling to the mental vision.

Then again we have the marvellous fact, taught us by modern observers, that probably the whole are in rapid motion, nothing at rest; all doubtless obeying the great law of universal gravitation, to which the physical Universe owes its stability; other laws, as we have already hinted, may exist, laws which tend to keep up the heat of our own and other Suns, and to generate new stars. There have been speculations, as we have stated above, and by no means unreasonable or unfounded speculations, on this point; but of such laws we know nothing and probably can know nothing; they may be realities or they may be scientific dreams. The law of gravitation, however, is established by most cogent evidence, and it always strikes us as one of the clearest proofs that Nature affords us of the action of an omnipotent and all-wise Being, from whose Providence all these laws derive their origin, this one in particular, with its universal and far-reaching sway, being the means whereby order is able to prevail over chaos, in the celestial bodies as well as on the earth where we live.

Another and well-known speculation relates to the curious but insoluble problem, whether life as familiar to us in this our own world, exists in any of those other worlds that are scattered throughout space, for instance in some of those dark globes that revolve round distant stars or even have stars revolving round them. Of course this *may be* so, but it *may not be*. We have no experience of the conditions that prevail in these regions, conditions perhaps widely different from everything with which we are acquainted;

and analogy is no certain guide in such cases. We must also remember that our Earth may have existed for millions of years before organic life appeared on its surface, as again life certainly existed long and very long before man was created; so that the bare fact that there are other worlds, which are supposed to be fit abodes for life, is no conclusive argument to prove that they are really inhabited even by animals still less by rational beings like ourselves.

We must also remember that the argument which appears so forcible to some persons—that the Earth is a small planet revolving round a Sun smaller and less brilliant than many others—is one that appeals to the imagination rather than to the reasoning faculty soundly and judiciously exercised, for history teaches us that small countries may be the scenes of the most important events as well as the birth-places of literary culture, of science, and of philosophy, such as leave a lasting impress on human life and an influence that endures through many generations. In the same way, it is quite conceivable that this Earth, which we inhabit, may be the true centre of vitality and intelligence in the mighty universe that surrounds us. Physical and moral pre-eminence need not, and obviously do not, go together. We have, however, no certain data on which to reason in this matter, and we must be content to leave the whole question shrouded in impenetrable mystery.

Our readers will, we hope, pardon this digression, if such they deem it to be. Questions, however, such as these on which we have touched, will almost necessarily present themselves to the intelligent astronomer, when he has arrived at some clear comprehension of the nature of those bodies which, at distances that we may almost term infinite, are moving in various directions through the vast abyss, of which we speak so much and know so little, and which we call *Space*.

The work we have been reviewing is calculated to assist even scientific men in mastering the details of Stellar Astronomy; and there are some among them who might study it with advantage. To take one instance: Professor Perry, a really able man, when delivering a most interesting popular lecture at Leeds in 1890, bearing the title of "Spinning Tops," but intended to illustrate the peculiar



movement of the earth which causes the precession of the equinoxes, stated that he knew nothing that the telescope or spectroscope taught us, to prevent our supposing that the stars are all reflections of the Sun in the ether that pervades space. Of course, he does not believe seriously that they are so, and only puts it forward as an imaginary hypothesis; but our readers shall judge, if they have done us the favour to peruse what we have here written, whether such a theory is even conceivably possible, and whether the telescope and the spectroscope have not taught us a truer lesson. On this point, however, we will say no more, but we will conclude our remarks by quoting the eloquent words used by Dr. Huggins in his Presidential Address to the British Association last year at Cardiff, an address having for its subject these very investigations, of which he is possibly the most able living exponent. "In no science," he says, "perhaps does the sober statement of the results which have been achieved, appeal so strongly to the imagination, and make so evident the almost boundless powers of the mind of man." Then after summarising the wonderful discoveries due to the spectroscope and to the improved art of photography, "surely," he continues, "the record of such achievements, however poor the form of words in which they may be described, is worthy to be regarded as the scientific epic of the present century."

F. R. WEGG-PROSSER.

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## THE SPANISH MONARCHY.

THE latter half of the nineteenth century has witnessed striking changes in the political aspect of Europe. States which for many centuries were first in rank, and rivals for supremacy, have fallen from their pride of place, and exhibit marked symptoms of permanent decline. Countries of old historic fame, but so long subject to foreign dominion, or so impotent on account of internal divisions, as to be classed by statesmen as mere geographical expressions, have been suddenly consolidated into great powers. New nations, European by race or locality, which at the beginning of the century were yet in their infancy, have grown so rapidly in population and territory as already to challenge comparison with the great empires of the world. Still more striking is the change which has been visibly accomplishing itself in the moral order of Europe. Christianity during fifteen hundred years informed European Governments and laws. If not absolutely repudiated, it no longer finds adequate expression in national institutions. Systems of free-thought, agreeing only in the rejection of Revelation, substitute new bases of public conduct for the divine ordinances discarded by modern enlightenment. And in the decay of faith, and the marvellous developments of science, materialism dominates the life of our civilization. In the meantime, revolutionary forces which materialism can neither guide nor vanquish, are slowly at work to transform or destroy the fabric of existing Society.

In the exciting spectacle of the rise and fall of nations, and the ceaseless conflict of principles and ideas which our period presents, there are perhaps few circumstances of greater historical interest than the slow revival of Spain. The internal peace of Spain, her re-appearance, still faint and fitful after a long eclipse, in the higher sphere of European politics, under the rule of a young Queen, awakens many glorious memories and much hopeful speculation. Our minds are carried back irresistibly to the time when Castile, under Isabella the Catholic, suddenly rose into the first rank of European Powers, with a conquering energy, a capacity for sway, a

tenacity of acquisition that seemed to grasp at universal dominion. We recall the great epoch when the name of Spaniard aroused emotions of hope, fear, and hatred throughout the known world, such as only the name of Roman had inspired before. Modern history offers few problems more perplexing, at first sight, than the fate of Spain. How such a nation, never crushed by foreign conquest, never even driven back within its natural limits, never stricken in any marked degree, as regards the mass of its population, with moral, intellectual, or physical degeneracy; on the contrary, retaining in large measure, in its most prostrate condition, the national qualities of valour, temperance, patriotism, a proud spirit of personal independence, quick and versatile intelligence, thirst of knowledge, chivalrous feeling, strong religious sentiment, which ennobled its prime, could have fallen from such a lofty career to such utter insignificance excites our wonder. And the study of Spanish annals only deepens this feeling of amazement. For they show us an Imperial race, the freest, the most turbulent, the most jealous of its rights, the most punctilious on points of national honour of any in Europe under native Kings, so infatuated by loyalty to foreign dynasties as to lose liberty and empire, prosperity and national reputation, by tame submission to a long series of administrations, Catholic, indeed, to the back bone, but wasteful, corrupt, and imbecile beyond all the Governments of modern times. We try to forecast the line of action which a people that played so great a part in the conflicts provoked by the Protestant Reformation, restored to vigour by freedom, directed by capable hands, resurgent as a great power, might pursue in a Europe again armed to the teeth, and fermenting with the ideas of the French Revolution. It was impossible that a nation of such high aims and achievements, conservative by principle but enterprising by natural temperament, and distinguished by rare genius in almost every domain of thought or action, could have lost for so long a time all governing influence in European affairs without detriment to the interests of civilization. And the downfall of Spain was little short of political annihilation. Modern history does not present a more remarkable contrast than that which the position of the Spanish Monarchy in the nineteenth century offers to

the position which it held in the sixteenth century. In the nineteenth century, considered by some the most wonderful in modern annals, that Monarchy has scarcely ranked higher in the scale of nations than many European provinces of its old dominion ; than the Netherlands, or Portugal, or Naples. In the sixteenth century, more fruitful still of great men and of great events, when the invention of printing, the renascence of letters and arts, the splendid triumphs of maritime enterprise, the scourge of Ottoman conquest, the disintegration of Christian society, stimulated all the passions, energies, and intellect of Europe into feverish activity, in every department of human endeavour, its supremacy was unquestionable. That supremacy was moral even more than material. It was the only national supremacy which in modern ages has extended over both land and sea ; embracing every spot of the world most coveted by human ambition. In Europe, other nations might over-run and occupy for a brief period kingdoms or provinces beyond their own confines. The Spaniard alone, with the iron tenacity of a race born for conquest, could convert occupation into permanent dominion. The King of Spain ruled over the Netherlands, Portugal, nearly the whole of Italy with the island of Sicily, and a considerable portion of modern France. The independent kingdoms of Germany, England, and France, at various times and under various titles, acknowledged his sway. He was master of both the Indies ; of the rich and fragrant islands of the Southern Seas ; of the auriferous regions and the pearl fisheries of the New World. His empire spread over all the explored parts of Central and Southern Africa, and large districts on its Northern coast. He was lord of the ocean seas, holding in his hands the precious freights and the exhaustless treasures of the East and the West. In exploits of disciplined valour the Spanish tercios equalled if they did not surpass the Roman legion. Republican Rome herself, that nurse of statesmen and soldiers, could not show within an equal period so many great public men as the Spanish Monarchy of the sixteenth century. Imperial Rome could not boast of a wider or more splendid empire. Nor did the Spaniards of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries gather laurels only in fields of adventurous enterprise, or of



political and religious strife. Their thirst for knowledge was insatiable. They were conspicuous for proficiency in all the learning of the time; the old learning of the schoolmen and the new learning of the Classicists. Their Universities of Salamanca, Alcalá, and Barcelona enjoyed a world-wide renown. In no other age or country did so many men, eminent for service to the State, win more enduring fame in the republic of letters as poets, historians, dramatists, masters of romantic fiction.\* They created a national literature of an extraordinary range and variety of excellence, which gave to mankind some of the choicest and most original productions of human genius. They adorned their cities with superb structures. They formed a national school of painting, rich in works which are inferior only to the master-pieces of of Italian Art.

And superb as it appears in its strength and extent, shining in all the glory of arts, letters and arms, the moral aspect of the Spanish Monarchy in the sixteenth century is still grander than the material aspect. To its founders belongs the honour, which Charlemagne alone of the great conquerors of history shares with them in an equal degree, that it was not built up merely or mainly by lust of dominion, or sordid thirst of gain. No doubt human policy and human passion were factors of its growth. In it, as in every work of human hands, evil was mixed with good. But the creative energy of its founders originated in the highest motives that could inspire human action. The most memorable enterprises of its rulers were conceived, and on the whole pursued, in a spirit of enlightened faith. The life of Isabella, the Catholic, was modelled on the loftiest ideal of public and private virtue. She left to her successors a nobler inheritance in her example than in the vast monarchy that grew up under her auspices. It was an unquenchable longing to spread the light of the Gospel among heathen nations that impelled this great Queen to fit out the little armament with which Columbus discovered the New World. Her treasury had been completely drained by the long war of Grenada. Her sagacious husband set his face against the

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\* Macaulay's *Essays*: "War of the Succession in Spain."  
Ticknor: "History of Spanish Literature."

enterprise. The learned men of her kingdom assembled in council at Salamanca pronounced it "vain and impracticable." It had been rejected as visionary by the boldest navigators of Italy and Portugal. But the picture which Columbus drew of unregenerate nations brought within the fold of Christ appealed irresistibly to the heart of Isabella, and she assumed to herself the cost of the expedition. The instructions given to the Admiral embodied her benevolent intentions in clear and emphatic terms. Unhappily, man's passions and the stress of unforeseen circumstances combined to thwart them. The wealth of territories lying within the torrid zone could not be developed without the use of native or negro labour. The Spaniards, bred up in perpetual conflict with the infidel, regarded conquered heathens as their bondsmen by the laws of war. Many of the original colonists of the Antilles were galley-slaves, released to man the Spanish armaments in the dearth of volunteers; and they used their assumed rights with merciless severity. Columbus, himself anxious at once for the preservation of the native races, and for the prosperity of his colony, sanctioned, contrary to his instructions, a system intended to combine forced labour with good treatment and religious instruction—the system of *repartimiéntos*. He found himself powerless to restrain rapacity and cruelty. The cry of a perishing people was brought to Isabella by the Christian missionaries whom she had sent to save them. Burning with indignation, she ordered all the slaves to be freed, and the system of *repartimiéntos* to be at once discontinued. Her humane policy made the discoveries of Columbus a heavy burthen on the scanty revenue of Castile. After her death, the urgent pressure of powerful colonial interests, the advice of jurists and theologians who thought that Indians should be compelled to enter heaven through the purgatory of servitude, and promptings of self-interest, induced Ferdinand of Aragon to revert for a short period, and with stronger safeguards against abuse, to the unfortunate measure of Columbus. The results were again disastrous. In the marvellous conquests of vast realms, rapidly effected by small bands of adventurers, the evil passions of individuals had too often free play. It was long before remote authority, occupied with more pressing interests, could

overtake the march of acquisition. The Spaniard, with the stern energy and the patient resolution, inherited much of the hardness of the old Roman warrior. His desire of wealth, stimulated by irresponsible power and unlimited opportunity, wrought terrible havoc among the native races of the American Continent. The Indians, proud and sensitive by nature, and physically unfitted for severe toil, pined in the lightest servitude, and died by thousands when forced to labour in the mines. But, although a considerable portion of the revenue accruing from it was reserved for the Crown, Spanish Governments, to their honour, steadily refused to tolerate cruelty so advantageous to themselves. Las Casas, whom Cardinal Ximenes appointed Protector of the Indians, bears testimony to the vigorous measures of that great minister, and of the Emperor, Charles V.—in spite of clamorous interests, the specious arguments of statesmen and divines, financial embarrassments, and colonial revolt—to rescue a helpless people from destruction, and secure to them all the rights of free subjects. Under Philip the Second, when order was established throughout Spanish America, existing regulations for their protection were enlarged and vigilantly enforced.\* The memoirs of Las Casas are often cited as a reproach to Spain. In truth, they form a melancholy chapter of human history. But it must be recollected that the horrors they relate are known to us through the courage and devotion of the Spanish Missionaries, in proclaiming the wrongs of populations committed by Spanish Sovereigns to their charge. The vast numbers who perished so miserably in Spanish America were probably only a fraction of the multitudes of aborigines exterminated on the Western Continent, for the greater part without defenders, and without a record, in the ruthless progress of European colonization. If the Spanish colonist treated the native as a beast of burthen, the Dutch and English colonists treated him as a wild beast. The orders framed, and, so far as was possible in such extraordinary circumstances, consistently enforced for the protection of the Indians, afford a testimony to the justice and humanity of the rulers of Spain, which may be sought for in vain in the annals of Protestant

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\* Prescott: "Ferdinand and Isabella." Helps's "Life of Las Casas."

colonization. And that these regulations were fairly effective is patent from the fact that the descendants of native races form the great majority of the population in every one of the Republics of Spanish America.

Again, the most questionable public acts of Ferdinand of Aragon were coloured, perhaps even to his own eyes, by zeal for the interests of Christianity. No doubt Ferdinand's nature was cast in a far meaner mould than that of his illustrious Consort. It was cold, calculating, and egotistical. The political wisdom for which he was famous was tintured with the unscrupulous state-craft which the genius of Italian tyranny had brought to a sinister perfection, and which Machiavelli afterwards expounded in "The Prince." Although not sullied by blood, or by the darker shades of guile, his policy embraced expedients which the more enlightened conscience of Isabella rejected with horror. During their joint lives her loftier spirit held his under control, and predominated in the councils of the Spanish Monarchy. After her death his whole nature seemed to deteriorate. And it is curious to observe how quick the nobler mind of the Queen, studious in all things for the welfare of her subjects, sympathising with every generous and exalted idea, active in every beneficent work, was to discern individual merit and opportunities of national advantage, which the keen, but selfish, sagacity of her husband utterly failed to appreciate. It would be difficult to name three historical characters of more splendid merit in their different spheres, than Columbus, Gonsalvo of Cordova, and Cardinal Ximenes. Next to Isabella herself, they were chiefly instrumental in building up the Spanish Monarchy, and in giving it the stamp of moral and intellectual grandeur. All of them were raised by the Queen from obscurity to great careers, in spite of Ferdinand's opposition. They were all upheld by her constant favour in extraordinary difficulties, against persistent assaults of envy and malevolence. After her death they all experienced neglect and ingratitude from Ferdinand, impatient of the ascendancy of natures so much loftier than his own.

But although Ferdinand loses much by comparison with Isabella, he gains much when compared with the other sovereigns of his time. In his domestic government he was



an admirable ruler. His application to business was indefatigable. Temperate, frugal, just in all his dealings, he strenuously enforced justice throughout his dominions; and was alike vigilant in protecting the weak from oppression, and in repressing disorder or corruption. He united singular dignity of bearing to popular manners. His temper was humane and placable; as prone to forget injuries as services. Although greedy of power, he used it with moderation, and with strict regard for the rights of his subjects. The wise and equitable government he established in the kingdom of Naples, contrasting vividly with the atrocious tyranny of the dispossessed dynasty, and the insolent rapacity of French conquest, won for him enduring gratitude from the Neapolitan people.

Rivals, whom he baffled or outwitted, and disappointed allies, sought to avenge failure by fixing on the foreign policy of Ferdinand a peculiar stigma of bad faith and religious hypocrisy. The transactions which led to his acquisition of the kingdoms of Naples and Navarre are particularly adduced by French, German, and English writers as examples of shameless perfidy. But, in recording national strifes, historians take parts under the influence of national feelings. Spanish historians, whether Aragonese, as Zurita, or Castilian, as Mariana, are unanimous in defending Ferdinand from the reproaches so liberally heaped upon him. The more unbiassed Italians, Guicciardini and Machiavelli, who regarded with patriotic aversion all the Barbarian princes that made Italy a great battle-field, pay Ferdinand tributes of high admiration. And the verdict of these contemporary historians is in a great measure confirmed by the impartial judgment of our own age.\* Deceit was not a special element of Ferdinand's almost unvarying good fortune; it was a quality common to the policy of all the Sovereigns of his time. All of them acted on the Machiavellian maxim—that engagements bind a prince only so long as greater advantage accrues from keeping them.† Ferdinand owed his success to fixed principles of policy; to uncommon astuteness and perseverance; and to the superior quality of his instruments. The leading principle of

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\* Prescott.—“History of Ferdinand and Isabella.”

† “Il Principe.”

his public conduct was expressed in his title of the *Catholic*. All his wars were undertaken for the enlargement or the defence of Christendom, or in alliance with the Holy See. He acquired Naples and Navarre under the sanction of Papal decrees. Naples was a fief of the Church, forfeited by the alliance of its King with the Ottoman Sultan, Bajazet II. Its acquisition by Spain was not only immediately conducive to the welfare of the population, but preserved Italy from imminent danger of being over-run by the Turks. He directed in person the long series of campaigns that destroyed Moslem dominion in Spain. His great general, Gonsalvo, wrested Cephalonia from the Ottoman Sultan, and restored it to Venice; delivered Rome from the marauding garrison which Charles VIII. of France had left at Ostia, to close the mouth of the Tiber, and reduce the capital of Christendom to dire want or disgraceful servitude. At the call of Popes his armies twice broke the supremacy of France in Italy. He, and more especially Isabella, did not spare sharp remonstrance in regard to the crying scandals that sullied the Pontificate of Alexander VI. But no sense of grievance, no hope of advantage, could tempt him to engage in any enterprise, or embark on any course of policy, antagonistic to the Holy See. Perhaps the most striking feature of his success, more particularly in the marvellous campaigns of the Great Captain, was the poverty of the material means employed. When Maximilian, King of the Romans, applied to Don Juan Manuel, Ferdinand's ambassador at his Court, for a considerable loan to enable him to recover some towns of which the Venetian Republic had despoiled the House of Austria, the ambassador replied, "That sum would suffice my master for the conquest of Venice and of all Italy besides." No doubt Ferdinand occasionally resorted to means which betrayed a low sense of honour, and even of moral obligation. But they were such as not only the political maxims of his age, but jurists and theologians, whom he was careful to consult, allowed. At the worst, they compare favourably with some which great modern statesmen have used with general applause. Although his aims were often selfish, they were as a rule patriotic. And they were pursued in subordination to what was still regarded in Europe as the highest standard of public conduct, the welfare of

Christendom, and the supreme interests represented by its spiritual chief. On the other hand, the political conduct of Ferdinand's contemporaries obeyed no higher law than fluctuating impulses of passion or self-interest. Charles VIII., of France, was a mere puppet in the hands of unworthy flatterers, a slave to sensual pleasures. Louis XII., in his political warfare with Pope Julius II., strained every effort to effect a schism in the Church. Henry VIII. tore away England from the Catholic Communion in order to compass selfish ends. Maximilian of Austria, with his magnificent projects and chivalrous aspirations, his infirmity of purpose, mean shifts, and ludicrous failures, was the laughing-stock of his time. He seemed to have been born to fulfil the scriptural judgment: "unstable as water thou shalt not excel." Contrasted with the policy of any of these Sovereigns, the policy of Ferdinand was distinguished by high principle, noble aims, consistent purpose, and beneficent achievement.\*

Again, in the strife of creeds and nations which made the sixteenth century memorable, the leading principle that informed the policy of the Emperor Charles V., and of Philip II., that animated the fleets and armies of Doria and Alva, of Don John of Austria, and Alexander Farnese, was the defence of Christian faith and civilization against the destroying sword of Islam, and the hardly less destructive rage of the Protestant Reformation. The physical lineaments, and many of the personal tastes of the Emperor, told of his Burgundian or Austrian parentage and training; but in genius and dominant moral characteristics he was a Spaniard. His nature was impregnated with religious sentiment of a melancholy cast, inherited from his mother, Juana of Castile.† A deep sense of the responsibility of his position as chief temporal guardian of the interests of Christendom elevated and enlarged his political views and quickened his energies. No doubt this higher principle was sometimes clouded by the meaner motives and cares of secular ambition; was sometimes warped by the passions of political strife. But it was a living force in all

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\* "Memoirs of Philip de Cominés." Sismondi, "History of the Italian Republics;" "History of France."—Peter Martyr writing after Ferdinand's death, from long and intimate knowledge, bears strong testimony to his great qualities.

† Von Ranke.—"Spanish and Ottoman Empires,"

the vicissitudes of his career, and was most clearly manifest in his most arduous enterprises. His first efforts as Emperor, were directed to the reform of the Church, and to stifle the early growth of Protestantism in Germany. In the maturity of his power he crushed, at the battle of Muhlberg the great Lutheran league which was rapidly acquiring predominance in Northern and Central Europe. He led in person two powerful armaments against the corsairs of Barbary, who preyed on the commerce of the Mediterranean, laid waste the coasts of Italy and Spain, and, year after year, swept thousands of Christians into the slave marts of Tunis and Algiers. At the head of another great army he checked the victorious career of Solyman the Magnificent on the Danube. His fleets were the chief bulwark of Christendom on the seas. In defending its unity and integrity, he had to rely mainly on the resources of Spain and the Netherlands, the other leading Christian powers being hostile or indifferent. And if his labours for this great object were not crowned with complete success, the failure was attributable partly to the spiritual lethargy which still paralysed the government of the Church; still more to the unsleeping and unscrupulous rivalry of the Kings of France. In the deadly peril of the Catholic Church, assailed at once by the forces of infidelity and of heresy, her eldest son, the most Christian King, swayed by selfish ambition, threw the whole political weight of a kingdom richer and more populous than Spain into the scale of her enemies. The alliance, secret or avowed according to circumstances, of Francis I. and Henry II., of France, enabled Protestantism to establish itself in Germany, allowed Solyman to annex Hungary, gave the Turks maritime superiority in the Mediterranean for more than thirty years. By a strange turn of events, it was the unpaid army of the champion of the Church, guided by the personal ambition of the Duke of Bourbon, that sacked Rome and besieged Pope Clement VII. And Clement was the last Pope in whose public character the accomplished politician was more prominent than the priest; who trod in the footsteps of Leo X. rather than in those of Leo I.

The public aims of Philip II. were still more closely identified with the protection of Catholic interests than those of



his father. And in their devotion to these interests, the Sovereigns of Spain, necessarily influenced by political motives and hampered by political condition, lagged far behind the intense feeling of the Spanish nation. For, in the mind of the Spaniard, religion and liberty, national greatness, and social progress were inseparably bound up with the triumph of the Catholic Church. That Church had confronted Pagan civilization in the plenitude of impious power, and Pagan barbarism in the fiercest mood of lawless conquest, and had subdued them both. Within the bounds of her wide dominion she had transformed hatreds of race and class into bonds of Christian brotherhood. She had called mediæval society from chaos; given it laws, letters, arts, and ordered freedom; bridled the tyranny of brute force, and liberated the serf. She alone, of all religious and philosophical systems, had been able by the divine power of her teaching to elevate, console, illumine, and harmonize all the conditions of human life.\* With that Church his own nationality was imperishably associated in stirring memories of common peril, common struggle, and common victory. In her name, and under her banner, he had cast off Mahomedan bondage; he had acquired a noble heritage of civil and political rights; he had won an empire on which the sun never set.

No doubt to modern English opinion the great forces and events of the sixteenth century present themselves in a very different aspect. In common view, the religious enthusiasm of the Spaniards was blind fanaticism; the policy of Spanish statesmen sinned against light in vain efforts to arrest the emancipation of the human mind from debasing superstition. It is assumed, as a truism, that the Protestant Reformation was a grander renascence, a new birth of religion and liberty which at once regenerated one-half of Europe, infusing purer life and higher energy into Christian civilization. But this assumption ignores historical facts. It is founded on misconception of one of the most extraordinary of historical phenomena. In truth, the name of Protestant Reformation conveys no accurate idea of the great moral upheaval for which Luther gave the signal. In no sense was that convulsion religious reform. It was a terrible eruption of human passions

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\* "History of European Civilization."—Guizot, Balmez.

in the name of religious freedom. Its immediate and visible effects were disastrous to all the highest interests of mankind. Moreover, the policy and the practice of its authors and chief promoters were distinctly adverse to human freedom. The importance of this question seems to claim for it somewhat developed treatment.

From the earliest time of the triumph of the Christian Church over the Barbarian conquerors of the Roman Empire, two powers embodying antagonistic principles, the Spiritual and the Secular, had been engaged in continual conflict, with various fortune, in the societies she reconstructed. Temporal rulers sought to acquire control over the Church, so as to use her authority and her possessions for their own ends. The Church, under the direction of the Popes, strove to confine secular power to its legitimate province, and within that province to enforce conformity to divine law. There had been exceptions to this rule. At all times churchmen might be found wholly engrossed with carnal pursuits. Many Sovereigns, animated by the religious spirit, such as Alfred, and especially Charlemagne, the first of Christian monarchs in genius and power, had pursued the highest ends of Government in harmony with the Church. But the natural and normal relation of the spiritual and secular principles was strife. Moreover, simpler issues of conflicting authority had been complicated and envenomed by the restless turmoil of passions and ideas which agitated societies still in crude stages of development, still dominated by barbaric influences, but in which intellectual speculation had been quickened by the dawn of knowledge. Every great advance in secular learning was marked by an outburst of scepticism and sensuality. The school which Charlemagne founded in his own palace, with the aid of Alcuin, owes its celebrity mainly to the daring theories of Erigena. The intellectual activity, stimulated by the light of ancient science and philosophy let into Western Europe by the Crusades, and diffused in Languedoc from the schools of Cordova, gave birth to Abelard and the Abigenses. Assailants of spiritual authority, however diverse might be their motives, generally worked in combination. Ambitious princes protected heterodox speculation and set up anti-popes. Aggressive philosophy flattered the

temporal power, and sought to win for it the support of cultured opinion. But so long as the chiefs of the Church were true to their great trust they triumphed over all their foes. The human conscience, enlightened by faith, acknowledged the validity of their claims. The regenerating forces with which Christianity endowed human society rallied to their aid. Public morality, social right, political freedom, fought under their banner. The prosperity of the Church in the time of Charlemagne and his immediate successors was due to the moral power she had acquired under a long series of zealous pontiffs. It was followed by a shameful period of weakness and abasement. The universal anarchy into which Charlemagne's empire resolved itself invaded the spiritual domain. The chair of Peter was stained with all the vices of profligate Roman nobles, who usurped its authority. Then came the religious revival associated with the great name of Hildebrand. From the middle of the eleventh to the middle of the thirteenth century the history of the Church is a history of arduous conflict crowned with splendid success. Three of the ablest, mightiest, and most strong-willed rulers of Christian Europe, the Emperors Henry IV., Frederick Barbarossa, and Frederick II., assailed her in succession with all the arts of policy and all the terror of arms. Their power crumbled beneath her anathemas; their pride was humbled in the dust. Henry at Canossa, Barbarossa at Venice, Frederick II. chafing in impotent impenitence in the ignoble seclusion of his Neapolitan harem, were witnesses to all men of the ascendancy of the spiritual element in the government of Western Christendom. The last of these princes, the World's Wonder, embodied the genius of secular antagonism in its highest development, its most striking attributes. In him were typified its sceptical culture, its knightly accomplishments, its perfidy and licentiousness, its scoffing impiety, its irrational thralldom to superstitious influences and occult arts. He represented not less completely its administrative ability; its despotic instincts, which in that turbulent age not unfrequently assumed the august forms of justice, order, and wise legislation; its command of material force, organized by the highest military skill, and directed by profound, subtle, and far-reaching policy. The ignominious failure of this most extraordinary man fore-

shadowed the ruin of his cause, and the destruction of the Hohenstauffen dynasty.\*

This period of spiritual supremacy, distinguished by Catholics as the Ages of Faith, is sometimes portrayed by modern writers as having for its salient features priestcraft and mental stagnation, brutal violence and abject superstition. It was, in truth, a stage in the growth of European civilization of young and turbulent life: when the sense of personal independence, which modern society derives from the German forests, was too strong for the bonds of feudal polity, and tended constantly to anarchy; when the sentiment of civil duty, derived from ancient civilization, was weak; when it required all the strength of spiritual authority over minds deeply imbued with religious belief to repress the impulses of lawless will.† But it was also the stage in which Christianity most fully informed life and shaped it to the highest ends; when faith was most ardent and most fruitful in good works. It was a time rich, perhaps, beyond all other periods in creative genius; a time of insatiable thirst for knowledge, of incessant mental activity, of lofty ideals and great achievements, of political liberty and public spirit, of the noblest charity and the most sublime self-sacrifice. The religious spirit then dominant produced the *Divine Comedy*, the grandest work of human literature. It covered Europe with the marvels of an architecture which expressed, in soaring lines of ineffable beauty, the holiest aspirations of the human soul. It spoke in art, which first pictured to man's view the glory of supernatural virtue, and the purity of sanctified emotion. It breathed in sacred melody, which seemed to echo the divine harmonies of angelic choirs. It founded and endowed the most famous schools and universities of Europe; gathered into them multitudes of eager students of every clime and every tongue; filled their chairs with some of the most powerful, acute, and original thinkers that any age of the world has seen. To these schoolmen Europe owes an incalculable debt of gratitude, not only for instruction in sacred and profane learning, but for knowledge of the principles of government, of legislation, and of public

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\* Sismondi, "Italian Republics." Gibbon, "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire."

† Guizot, Balmez, "History of Civilization."



right. They built up the sciences of theology, Christian philosophy, and canon law. They disinterred civil law from the ruins of ancient polity, vivified it with the spirit of mediæval freedom, and applied it to expand and humanize barbaric codes. When called, as in the case of Dunstan or Lanfranc or Anselm, by the importunity of sovereigns from the more congenial sphere of teaching to high ecclesiastical office, they stand out on the historical stage as the ablest and most enlightened statesmen of their times, moulding the growth and polity of nations. Modern Europe first learned from them to appreciate the arts, literature, and science of the classic ages. Modern democracy has borrowed from them its political theory of popular rights.\* Their obscure labours, pursued under extraordinary difficulties, anticipated or opened the way for many of the great discoveries in natural science which utilitarian philosophy claims as her own. In the hands of the schoolmen the universities of Paris, Oxford, Bologna, Wurtzburg, the most venerable seats of learning now existing in Europe as well as many others which have perished, grew up and flourished. They made those famous institutions centres of faith and of intellectual light, which illumined every part of Western Christendom. They kindled in them an enthusiasm for knowledge, an ardour of original speculation, endowed them with a catholic range of teaching and of influence, invested them with an intellectual brilliancy, a moral grandeur, unknown to later stages of their long and illustrious existence.

Modern historians, as a rule, represent the temporal authority exercised by the heads of the Church in the Middle Ages as ecclesiastical usurpation. In truth, no sway wielded in the temporal sphere was ever more legitimate. It came direct from Heaven; having for its title acknowledged moral and intellectual supremacy. It was imposed by public needs, and by the spontaneous call of Western Christendom. No power existing on earth except that of the Church could, after the fall of the Roman empire, have brought social organization from the chaos of barbaric strife; nor, in the earlier stages of Christian society, have vindicated human right against the lawless tyranny of brute force. Errors of judgment and even

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\* "History of the English People."—Green.

buses in its exercise can, no doubt, be pointed out; but no power was ever used on the whole in such a beneficent spirit, or for such salutary ends. Under the influence of the Church, the sovereigns and peoples of Europe, laying aside intestine strifes and selfish ambition, confederated in great expeditions for the assertion or protection of Christian interests. The truces of God, which she proclaimed and enforced, afforded mankind in many countries their sole respite from the evils of chronic anarchy. Her sanctuaries everywhere opened to the oppressed an inviolable refuge. She ennobled and humanized feudalism by infusing into it the spirit of chivalry. By establishing the military orders she enlisted the fierce energies of civil war and rapine in the defence of Christendom, the redressing of wrongs, and the practice of heroic virtues. Her spiritual terrors bowed the boldest oppressor into submission and public atonement for his misdeeds. To gentler natures her monasteries offered asylums consecrated to prayer, learning, and good works. These noble institutions, scattered all over Europe, reclaimed savage wilds, and made them bloom with fertility; reclaimed more savage men to the practice of the arts of peace; rescued from the ruin of the ancient world the treasures of sacred and profane literature, and preserved them through ages of darkness and violence; embellished every land with the noblest monuments of Christian art. The Church was the national organizer, the political mediator, the social regenerator of mediæval Europe. She formed the nations; breathed into them a spirit of faith, of justice, and of charity; equipped them with free institutions, clothed them with civilization. The enemy of oppression and of disorder, she threw her ægis over all useful efforts, all legitimate rights. In her conflicts with the Cæsars and their satellites, her chief allies were the Italian republics. The name of Guelph represented political and religious liberty; the name of Ghibbeline was the watchword of arbitrary rule, lawless ambition, and unbridled license. In her own states she was the constant protector of municipal freedom against the usurpation of Ghibbeline barons.\* The centuries when her power most clearly predominated are those most remarkable

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\* Sismondi's "Italian Republics." Sismondi is always an unwilling witness for the Church.

for social and political progress in the history of European civilization. They are those in which the rarest powers of mind were consecrated to the highest aims. No other historical period, perhaps, offers more startling contrasts of light and shadow. But of no other period does the whole moral aspect witness so vividly to the working of the divine influence of religion in human life.

The fall of the house of Hohenstauffen, and the religious peace concluded with Rudolph of Hapsburgh seemed to assure to the spiritual power a long ascendancy in European society. But victory bred perils for the Church more terrible than any which could have resulted from the sharpest persecution. At the end of the thirteenth century the great spiritual movement initiated by Pope Gregory VII. had spent its force. Zeal had given place to tepidity; austere piety to sloth and worldliness. Early in the fourteenth century the secular principle was plainly predominant. Philip the Fair of France, a ruthless and crafty tyrant, obtained control over the papacy itself. Pope Boniface VIII., accused of heresy, and seized in his own capital by Philip's agents, died from the effects of brutal violence, which Dante commemorated in burning verse. The next Pope, Clement V., in fulfilment, as historians relate, of a secret compact with the French monarch, fixed his residence at Avignon.\* Here, within the immediate sphere of French supremacy, and surrounded by corrupting influences, the Holy See sank, for a time, into dishonouring subserviency. Its abasement was signalized by the destruction of the illustrious Order of the Knights Templars, which Philip accomplished by the basest arts, and the most ferocious cruelty. Petrarch's letters give a lamentable picture of the Court of Avignon. He and other Catholic writers of the time constantly refer to the new seat of the papacy as the new Babylon. The same secular influences which for a time had held the spiritual power in thralldom, fomented in the year 1378, the great schism that rent the Church for thirty years. During this period of degradation and discord, her authority fell into general contempt; the religious spirit everywhere decayed. Selfish ambition, greed, sensuality, all the vices of unregenerate nature, invaded the strongholds

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\* Sismondi—"History of France."

of faith, asserted their sway in public and private life, adopted new political canons which ignored divine law. In every country the temporal power, served by the craft of lawyers and by flagrant ecclesiastical abuses, usurped the rights of the spiritual power. Heresies which proclaimed the anarchical doctrines revived in modern socialism and communism, arose in armed insurrection against Christian society. Mohammedanism again invaded Europe and established itself on the ruins of the Greek empire. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the chivalry of Western Christendom had repeatedly, at the call of the Popes, marched into the heart of Asia to rescue the Holy Land from the Saracens. The Popes of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were unable to dispatch even a fraction of the armed hosts that desolated all Western Christendom in unjust and inglorious quarrels, to protect the fairest provinces and the eastern capital of Europe from the Ottoman Turks. In Italy, nearly all the free cities fell under the dominion of petty tyrants, who made war on the Church, seized her domains, and laughed at her anathemas.\*

The ascendancy of the human element in the Church that led to such disastrous consequences was greatly promoted by an intellectual movement which did not originate within herself, but which she adopted and fostered. An exodus of Greek scholars from Constantinople to Italy, beginning about the middle of the fourteenth century, and the example of Petrarch and Boccaccio, gave a new and extraordinary impulse to the study of classical literature. Florence, Avignon, and afterwards Rome were the chief centres of the revival, which gradually spread over western Europe. It was a movement which, though not intellectually barren, produced none of the finer fruits of intellectual culture. There was enormous ardour in study, incessant effort in production. But the results, as a rule, were feeble imitations of classic models. And these models were less often, perhaps, the great masters of poetry, philosophy, and eloquence, than authors who

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\* Pope Urban V. sent Cardinal de Belfort with a *third* Bull of excommunication to Barnabas Visconti of Milan. Visconti compelled the Cardinal to swallow the Bull, together with the leaden seals and silk cordage attached to it. Sismondi.



illustrate the corruption of Greek or Roman taste. A servile copying of ancient examples quenched the creative power that had lent such splendour to the dawn of Italian literature. Ariosto followed Dante and Petrarch, only after the lapse of two hundred years.

And the blight which the "new learning" cast on the higher faculties of the mind was not its worst effect. It proved also pernicious in a high degree to faith and morals. Few will deny that the study of ancient masterpieces—the most perfect creations of literary genius—instructs and delights the mind, refines the taste, and opens larger views of human life. But, pursued with immoderate and indiscriminating ardour, and with unsafe guides, at a time when religious and moral sentiment was greatly relaxed, it could not fail to exercise a demoralizing influence. Classic literature embalms the thought and reflects the manners of societies steeped in the most horrible depravity. Not to speak of works of a more popular character, such as the comedies of Ariostophanes or the satires of Juvenal, the dialogues of Plato—the purest and most sublime of pagan teachers—treat unreservedly of practices which modern licentiousness, in its vilest mood, would hardly venture to glance at in veiled allusion. Pagan philosophy, being the revolt of reason unenlightened by revelation against mythological fictions which frequently deified human vices, was necessarily sceptical. Much of its ethical teaching was based on false principles. The Greek scholars who, following in the track of Leo Pilatus, taught the new learning in Italy were, as a rule, not more distinguished by their classical knowledge than by their atheistical opinions, their profligate habits, and their servile spirit. They flattered the vices and glorified the satanic statecraft of every Italian tyrant who invited them to his court. In the pictures they drew of each other they stand revealed as monsters of wickedness.\* And even assuming that those portraits were only embodiments of diseased fancy, the charges which the rival sages freely hurled at each other were such as only a foul imagination could conceive, or a heart ulcerated by evil could prompt. In the eleventh century the writings of Aristotle illustrated, or rather, obscured by the comments of Arrhevoes of Cordova, had proved a potent agent

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\* Roscoe—"Lives of Cosmo and Lorenzo di Medici."

n subverting Christian belief. So, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the more abundant springs of classic thought unsealed by sceptical and impure teachers were perverted into sources of infidelity and corruption. The fall of Constantinople, by increasing the supply of those teachers and of ancient manuscripts, enlarged the sphere of their influence in the west. A great majority of the distinguished men, at once scholars and statesmen, who gathered around Cosmo and Lorenzo di Medici to discuss Platonic philosophy in the Rucellai Gardens; who were the chosen companions of popes and cardinals; who filled the highest offices of public trust in Italy, seem to have been Christians only in name. Of this school of public men Machiavelli, illustrious in his own age as a politician and as a writer, condemned since by the awakened moral sense of mankind to immortal infamy, was a favourable, even a flattering, specimen. The literature of the renaissance in Italy, as for example the poems of Pulci, reflects in its gross licentiousness the corruption of ecclesiastical life, and the general degradation of sentiment and taste. Hardly less significant is the witness born to the decay of the religious spirit in the earlier works of English and French literature, from the courtly satire of Chaucer to the profane ribaldry of Rabelais. Not that that spirit was anywhere dead. It was always and everywhere active, invincible in defeat, indestructible when seemingly about to perish. Great ailments, and great though partial reforms, constantly testified to its vitality. Although no longer supreme in the domain of letters, it produced masterpieces of devotional literature, little less than inspired. In the domain of art it reigned with undiminished power. During seasons of calamity it seized on whole populations, and found fervid expression in public penitence and prayer.\* It won signal political victories, under the most adverse circumstances, even in Italy, where it had suffered the most signal political reverses. In the middle of the fourteenth century, Cardinal Albomoz, one of the greatest of the mediæval churchmen, cleared the Roman States of petty tyrants, restored the papal authority and popular liberties, and bridled the ambition of the Visconti of Milan. The pre-

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The religious movement at the beginning of the fourteenth century, known as the "Procession of White Penitents," is an example.

mature death of this illustrious prelate, equally lamented by the Pope, whom he had served so well, and the people, whom he had rescued from oppression, was an irreparable loss to the interests of the Church.\* Under Urban V., a pontiff of singular virtue, the Holy See recovered all its lustre. Rome saw the emperors of Eastern and Western Christendom doing public homage to the successor of Peter. At Florence, towards the end of the following century, when the old elements of republican life, religion and freedom, seemed to have withered away under the debasing rule of the Medici, they suddenly asserted themselves again in the brief ascendancy of Savonarola. Public liberty was restored. Public policy was again marked by good faith and elevated aims. Private morals were reformed. The witty but licentious works which had been the glory and delight of cultured sensuality, the various appliances of luxury and vice, were collected into heaps and publicly burned on the great square. Epicurean enjoyment gave place to self-denying labour. But the powers of the world in Church and State were too strong for the great Dominican. He counted on Charles VIII. of France as a chosen instrument of ecclesiastical reform, and the political regeneration of Italy; and it was leaning on a broken reed.† When Charles recrossed the Alps, a political and social reaction at Florence, supported by the anathemas of Pope Alexander VI., restored the reformer's enemies to office. The old corrupt order was re-established. Savonarola was burned as a heretic. The reforming movement was crushed by blind policy, which should have welcomed it as the only means of averting a great catastrophe. The Church, possessing immense wealth and wider jurisdiction than in any former age, but mastered by secular influences, abandoned by the forces of opinion, and betrayed by her rulers, seemed to be delivered over to destruction. Princes grasped at her authority. Nobles hungered for her possessions. Wealthy and corrupt churchmen, and bad men of every class, chafed under her restraints. Sceptical culture sneered at her mysteries. Intellectual pride questioned her dogmas. Suppressed zeal for reform fermented into revolt.

\* Sismondi, though a bitter enemy of the Church, has only praise for Cardinal Albomoz—"Italian Republics."

† "Memoirs of Philip de Cominés."

Pious believers were alienated by ecclesiastical immorality and scandalous abuses of administration. All the evil passions which her spiritual energy had kept under control in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, gathering strength during the two centuries that followed, suddenly rose up in insurrection and rent her in pieces. This great rebellion of degenerate nature against divine authority unfaithfully administered is known under the strange name of the Protestant Reformation. Its results could not fail of being in the highest degree disastrous.

The children born of thee are fire and sword,  
Red ruin, and the breaking up of laws.

It seemed as if all the powers of darkness had been let loose upon the earth. Selfish ambition, pride, greed, lust, dethroned divine authority and usurped its attributes to proclaim the gospel of lawless will, to rob the Church and the poor, to trample on human rights. The unity of Western Christendom was shattered. States and families were divided against themselves by the fiercest animosities. Profligacy, impiety, barbarous fanaticism, uniting in one great tide of havoc, spread their ravages over a great part of Europe, defiling the sanctuaries of Christian faith, wrecking the glorious monuments of Christian piety, despoiling and laying desolate the seats of learning. Masterpieces of religious art, manuscripts of priceless value, were destroyed or scattered to the winds. Established order was everywhere subverted, the foundations of civil society were everywhere shaken. Religious sanctions and moral laws were alike repudiated. At Munster, frenzy and obscenity, methodised under the names of religion and liberty, held sovereign sway. The impious and impure doctrines of the Albigenses, which had imperilled society in the twelfth century, bore fruit again in Anabaptist abominations. In Southern Germany, the peasants, plundered and oppressed by their lords, and demoralized by their new teachers, rose in savage fury, and committed horrible excesses. Desolating fires of social anarchy were quenched in torrents of human blood. More than one of the self-styled reformers shuddered at the evil demons they had called up, but found themselves impotent to control. Before two generations passed



away, some of the fairest and most civilized districts of Europe had been turned into wide wastes of moral, intellectual, and material ruin. For a century and a half, religious wars continued to rage with almost incredible ferocity in France and Germany, bringing unutterable horrors in their train, and leaving permanent traces on the national character.

When men's minds in the various countries affected had begun to recover from the first stunning shocks of this great convulsion, and the burning flood of evil which invariably accompanied each shock had begun to slacken and solidify, movements of religious reconstruction, proceeding on different principles, were seen everywhere in progress; one within the Church, others outside her pale. The first was a movement of reform on the old lines of Christian faith and doctrine. It renewed the whole body of the Church, the head as well as the members. Under the bracing influence of mortal peril the spiritual element recovered all its vigour. Its operation was soon manifest in fervent zeal, austere discipline, regenerated life, and purified opinion. The Church, so long assailed, became the assailant. Enforcing moral reform and proclaiming doctrinal truth, with divine authority, in the decrees of a general council, she not only arrested the process of disintegration, but won back multitudes that had fallen away from her communion. One of the most striking signs of reformation was the change in the moral atmosphere that surrounded the papacy itself. In the evil days of secular predominance Savonarola had been burned as a heretic under one Pope; the "Prince" of Machiavelli had issued from the pontifical press under the sanction of another. This famous treatise had at once become the favourite manual of statesmen. The chief political leaders of the Protestant Reformation made it their special study.\* After the spiritual reaction had thoroughly set in, Savonarola's portrait, hung in a place of honour among those of canonized saints, adorned a Pope's bedchamber. The "Prince" was denounced by Cardinal Pole as the work of the devil, and condemned as anti-Christian by the Council of Trent. Nor was the Catholic Reformation more thorough in

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\* William the Silent was a constant reader of "The Prince," "Memoirs of Cardinal Granvelle." Maurice of Saxony, and Thomas Cromwell in England, were also political pupils of Machiavelli.

its operation than it has proved to be enduring in its influence. No pontiff has filled the chair of Peter during two centuries and a half whose private conduct and spiritual administration have not been pure. Several pontiffs have exhibited to modern Europe the virtues of the apostolic age. And the storms which have assailed the Church during this period, even the destroying whirlwind of the French Revolution, inflicted on her no permanent damage. Her vitality has been proof against every wound. Her spiritual energy quickly repairs every loss. Reverse in one quarter has been more than counterbalanced by conquests in others. Moreover, reverse has not been a consequence of any general decay of spiritual life within her. It has too often resulted from the contaminating influence of local association with secular tyranny and corruption, and from advantages afforded by such association to hostile forces. In the union of Church and State, lay government, no matter how Catholic it may be in profession, or even in conviction, is led by innate tendency to degrade spiritual authority, and to compromise its interests. As a consequence the course of events has been full of surprises. Periods of apparent prosperity have proved in the hour of trial periods of real weakness in the Church. Calamities the most disastrous have added to her strength by freeing her from temporal bonds. We have only to turn to the two most memorable epochs of modern French history for striking illustrations of this position. Louis XIV. was not only the greatest, but one of the most magnanimous and religious-minded of the kings of France. His reign was perhaps the most brilliant era in the history of the Church in France, the time of Bossuet and Pascal, of Fénelon and Massillon. Louis, in the pride of unbounded power, after the peace of Nimeguen, assailed the Roman See, during the Pontificates of Alexander VII., and Innocent XI., over-riding its sovereign rights in Rome, usurping its ecclesiastical prerogative in France. To enforce his claims he annexed Avignon, imprisoned the Papal Nuncio at Paris, converted the hotel of the French Ambassador at Rome into a foreign garrison. The march of a French army on his capital compelled Alexander VII. to submit to humiliating conditions; and to raise, within view of the Quirinal palace, a monument commemorating his humiliation. In this course of unjust

aggression, condemned by the unanimous voice of Europe, the French monarch was supported by the Gallican Church with a servility which gave point to the great Condé's sarcasm, that, if the *grand monarque* chose to turn Turk, a majority of his bishops would follow his example. In national council, and through the universities, she promulgated the Gallican articles; furbishing up for her own degradation old fetters forged for the spiritual power by royal statecraft in the Middle Ages. She joined her most ancient and inveterate enemy the Parliament of Paris in war against her spiritual chief. With not less unanimity she applauded the unjust and impolitic measures of Louis against the Huguenots: measures strongly disapproved by Innocent XI. The countenance shown by the clerical order to abuses of power in the *ancien régime*, a subserviency which the profligate reign of Louis XV. placed in the most invidious light, was, no doubt, a main cause of the popular hatred which overwhelmed Christianity itself in such tragic ruin at the close of the eighteenth century. After the Revolution, Napoleon restored the Church in France: a work which he alone could have accomplished. He sought to bind her to his own interests by the Concordat, and by raising his uncle Fesch, who had shown himself worldly and pliant in civil employments, to the see of Lyons. But when, infatuated by victory, he despoiled and imprisoned Pius VII., he found no courtly acquiescence, no wavering of spiritual allegiance in the French clergy. On this point Count Miot de Melito, an imperial councillor of state and an avowed enemy of the Papal See, is an unexceptionable witness. "No prince, certainly," writes the Count, "was better adapted by character and boldness to force his yoke on a pope than Napoleon; and nevertheless Pius VII. was his most terrible adversary, and was not conquered by him. The decadence of his empire dates from his quarrels with the pontiff. The priests whom he re-established in France did not hesitate for a moment between him and the pope; and even in his own family the kinsman who through him had been raised to the cardinalate, declared against him."\*

At the present moment the dominion of the Church is wider, her decrees are received with not less implicit submis-

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\* "Memoirs of Count Miot de Melito."

on, than at any former period of her existence. If she does not control secular policy, as she did in the middle ages, she is no longer controlled by it, as has too often happened in the ages that followed. She has acquired greater freedom of action, greater concentration of authority for her eternal warfare in civil society with the combined forces of sceptical intellect and materialism. She is still as visibly as ever the great moral power in the world, the centre of intelligence illumined by faith, the guardian of Christian truth and liberty, to whom alone it has been given by her teaching and her silent action on man's conscience, to guide with unerring wisdom the dark and troubled course of human life.

Simultaneously with the movement of reform in the Catholic Church, other churches were in process of formation in various countries which had been more or less completely severed from her communion. These institutions assumed many shapes; all deformed by the moulding hands of spiritual error and secular policy, all adverse to human liberty. Based on theory on the principle of freedom of judgment, they were all strongholds of unmitigated tyranny. The Protestant Reformation established, in the outraged name of reason, religious intolerance, founded merely upon individual opinion, in comparison with which the old intolerance, founded upon infallible teaching, was indulgent latitude; and temporal tyranny of an all-embracing grasp hitherto unknown among Christian nations. Calvin's republican system at Geneva wrested to itself all the authority of the Roman See in the provinces of faith and moral discipline, in order to restore, with narrower restrictions and new terrors, the harsh yoke of the Jewish dispensation. It annihilated free will. It denied the rights of a citizen and the hopes of a Christian to everyone outside its pale. It invested Christian life with the fanatical gloom and the broad phylacteries of the Pharisee, stripping it of its wide charities, its liberal culture, and its graceful accomplishments; destroying the sublime creations and discarding the elevating influences of religious art; proscribing alike intellectual recreations of refined leisure, and sports and holiday pastimes that cheered the monotony of humble toil; and thereby greatly diminishing when it did not altogether abolish the sphere of innocent enjoyment. Godliness, as the Calvinist



termed his unchristian servitude, was enforced by severe legal penalties. This system, which bore about the same relation to Catholicism that nightmare bears to beatific vision, oppressed Scotland for nearly two centuries. "There was in truth," says a distinguished Protestant historian, "more real religious liberty in the seventeenth century at Naples and in Castile than in the western lowlands of Scotland,"\* Its short rule in England, described by another Protestant authority† as "a system of political oppression," characterized by "hypocrisy," "pride," "selfish hardness," and "worldliness," produced a harvest of political and social profligacy unparalleled in European history. An after effect of it may still be seen in the habit of drunkenness born of the dreariness of life among the poor. In Ireland it was a reign of terror and spoliation. But perhaps it was in New England that the dark and narrow fanaticism, the spiritual pride, the rigid, often ruthless, intolerance of Puritanism most absolutely governed public and private life, and stood out in the darkest relief. Those venerated champions and martyrs of civil and religious liberty who emigrated from England to Massachusetts in 1630 with Winthrop, immediately passed a law excluding from the freedom of the "body politic" all who did not hold their own religious opinions. Roger Williams, a leading member of the new community, was expelled for advocating toleration. Quakers who ventured to settle in it were hanged. The Indians on its borders were systematically robbed and exterminated. Within these borders laws equally atrocious and absurd repressed the slightest latitude of action or opinion. Nor was American Puritanism long content with absolute dominion in its own chosen territory.

Calvert, Lord Baltimore, a rising statesman in the earlier part of the reign of Charles I., having cut short his political career in England by embracing the Catholic faith, founded in 1634, under a royal charter, a colony in North America, where his Catholic fellow-subjects might enjoy the civil and religious rights denied to them at home. The new settlement was called Maryland, in honour of Queen Henrietta Maria. Its constitution enacted that "no person within this

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\* Lecky—"History of England in the Eighteenth Century."

† Green—"History of the English People."

province professing to believe in Jesus Christ shall be in any way troubled, molested, or discountenanced for his or her religion, or in the free exercise thereof." The Puritans availed themselves of this wide toleration to settle in Maryland. Increasing in numbers, they succeeded after a time in obtaining control over the government and legislature. And, without the slightest provocation, they used their power to change the constitution, and pass penal laws against the Catholics.\* Of all historical fictions, that which identifies Puritanism in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries with civil and religious liberty is perhaps the grossest and most palpable.

In the Protestant monarchies of England and Continental Europe the Reformation invested temporal rulers with absolute dominion not only over the lives and properties, but over the minds and consciences of their subjects. The sovereign arrogated to himself, with the full approval of Protestant divines, rights which no Pope or Ecumenical Council had ever pretended to: the right of framing and of altering at will the religion of the state; the right of using the temporal sword to compel conformity to every change of dogma dictated by personal policy or caprice. This was a usurpation utterly subversive of Christian Liberty; abhorrent even to the principles of a Moslem caliph; which clothed a Christian ruler with the impious prerogative of the pagan Cæsars. Formulated in the maxim, *cujus regio ejus religio*, it triumphed in the Thirty Years' War; and, in spite of the protests of the Papal See, was incorporated with the public Law of Europe by the treaty of Westphalia.† This supremacy of secular authority in the domain of faith was a condition absolutely essential to the success of Protestant innovation. Henry VIII., and afterwards Elizabeth, created the Anglican Church, and fashioned it after their own views of political expediency. Luther could only establish his system by placing it under the control of the princes who protected him, and to whose passions he

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\* Bancroft—"History of the United States." Lecky.

† Von Dollinger—"Church and the Churches." The only check Luther seems to have imposed on the spiritual authority of the lay ruler was an obligation to consult his professors of theology in regard to religious changes. But, as the prince chose, and could change the professors, the check was sufficiently elastic.

pandered. The republican constitution of Calvinism rejected the priestly office, and gave the lay elders a decisive voice in the assemblies and administration of the Church. In truth, the subserviency of the Protestant apostles to powerful patrons was only equalled by their animosities against each other. Luther anathematised Calvinism, but allowed the Elector of Hesse the Mohammedan privilege of a second wife. The guilt of sin, he taught, could not attach to a true believer. Calvin caused Servetus to be burned. Cranmer was the obsequious instrument of the cruelty and lust of Henry VIII. Even Knox, savage fanatic as he was, while lauding the murders of Cardinal Beton and Francis, Duke of Guise, as the work of God, showed extraordinary indulgence to the public and private crimes of the Scottish nobles of his party—the most brutal, greedy, and godless crew that ever shaped the destinies of a country. It was the Anglican Church that proclaimed the doctrine of passive obedience, the divine right of the king to deprive Englishmen of the liberties their Catholic forefathers had won.\* The Protestant Reformation carried with it, as constant results, the investing of lay government with supreme spiritual authority, which meant, according to the constitution of the government, political, social, and religious servitude; spoliation of the Church and the poor; diminished power of Christian influences in society; and, as a consequence, the general degradation of the masses of the people.

No doubt systems established by men, each one of whom claimed for himself liberty of opinion which he denied to everyone who differed from him, contained within themselves the seeds of dissolution. The principle on which they were founded, namely, the right of private judgment, was continually working to destroy superimposed fabrics of intolerance. It shattered churches into sects, and found its logical development in Rationalism. But the struggle for emancipation was long and doubtful. Dissent was repressed by the lay power as rebellion against itself. In England, where free institutions,

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\* Macaulay admits that, "if the system on which the founders of the Church of England acted could have been permanent, the Reformation would have been, in a political sense, the greatest curse that ever fell on our country."—"Essay on Hampden." The system was the same in all Protestant monarchies.

though perverted into engines of oppression, were never abolished, where usurped prerogative had not the support of a standing army, the double tyranny of secular authority was first broken. But, even in England, political liberty made little permanent advance, religious toleration, even of Protestant sects, no advance whatever, for one hundred and fifty years. On the continent Rationalism everywhere undermined the creeds of Luther and Calvin; but political, religious, and social tyranny held their ground in Protestant realms until assailed by all the forces of the French Revolution. In France, under Catholic government, the Edict of Nantes secured equality of rights to a Huguenot minority for nearly a century. No Protestant government, however, was found to follow this example. No champion of free thought in England could emancipate a Catholic. Milton, Locke, Algernon Sidney, and the English writers of the seventeenth century distinguished or enlarged political speculation, for the broadest theories of civil and religious liberty, condemned the Catholic to perpetual bondage. It was not until late in the following century that the political philosophy of Burke, informed and enlightened by Christian philanthropy, extended to Englishmen who inherited the creed of Stephen Langton and Simon de Montfort rights conferred by the constitution which these great men had founded. And for two generations more the efforts of Protestant statesmanship to give effect to Protestant principles were constantly defeated by the power of Protestant intolerance.

Looking back from the standpoint of modern liberalism, the use of private judgment proclaimed by the Protestant Reformation, an illegitimate extension of the free inquiry and free will taught in the Catholic schools, and essential elements of Catholic life, has no doubt enlarged the bounds of human freedom. It has done so by slowly demolishing the monstrous fabrics of tyranny which the so-called reformers were the chief instruments in building up. Political revolution, fostered by religious dissent, has brought about, under altered conditions, the revival of the constitutional liberty that flourished so vigorously in the limited monarchies and the free republics of the middle ages. But modern progress has a sinister aspect for which the Reformation is, in a primary sense, responsible.



Liberty in the middle ages was informed by religion. In spite of occasional excesses, it was constructive and healing: full of reverence for divine authority, and of respect for legitimate rights. It was the potent agent of a civilization the moral grandeur and wide beneficence of which may still be seen, reflected in the superb beauty of mediæval cities. Modern liberty informed by Rationalism is too often antagonistic to religion. When no longer controlled by living influences of Christianity it too often follows its natural tendency to anarchy and licentiousness; too often threatens in frenzied outbursts to wreck human society, and again reduce civilisation to chaos.

The marked superiority of the Spaniards in the sixteenth century was the result of a variety of co-operating causes. It was due partly to qualities inherited from great ancestral races. It was due in still larger measure to a long course of arduous effort under the most ennobling influences that could quicken and develop man's faculties. The ancient inhabitants of the Peninsula possessed in a higher degree perhaps than any other barbarian nation of Western Europe the natural virtues of a free and hardy people. From them Hannibal drew the flower of the conquering army of Lake Thrasymene and Cannæ. Rome found them the most stubborn defenders of national independence. When finally subdued, Spain became the most thoroughly Roman of all the ultramontane provinces of the empire, and contributed to the empire more than a full proportion of distinguished merit. Balbus, the first Roman consul, and Trajan, the first Roman emperor of alien blood, Theodosius the general of the emperor Valeus, and his greater son, Seneca the philosopher, are only the most conspicuous of many historic figures that illustrated Spanish genius on the grandest theatre of the ancient world. Then again, the Goths were foremost in warlike achievement and in the arts of civil life of all the barbarians that partitioned the Roman empire. The laws of the Spanish Visigoths seem to indicate more enlightened principles of government, wider knowledge, higher national development than can be discerned in those of co-æval kingdoms of kindred origin.\* But this superiority did not save the Visigothic monarchy from the fate that sooner or later overtook the great majority of those kingdoms. Its warlike

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\* "History of European Civilization." Guizot, Balmez.

rigour being dissolved in sloth and sensuality, it collapsed suddenly and completely, when apparently at the height of its power and prosperity, under the blows of a foreign invader. Of all the northern tribes that over-ran the western provinces of the Roman empire, Goths and Saxons, Burgundians and Suevi, Lombards and Vandals, the Franks alone, preserving their martial virtues, were able to hold and to extend their original conquests. One fatal day saw the overthrow of the Gothic monarchy in Spain; and the victorious Saracens quickly subdued the whole Peninsula from the Straits of Gibraltar to the wild fastnesses of Asturias and the Pyrenees. These rugged strongholds of faith and freedom were the cradle of the Spanish empire of the sixteenth century. A desperate remnant of Gothic patriotism, brought to bay in its last retreats, turned fiercely on the infidel. Thenceforward, for 700 years, the life of the Spanish nation was perpetual warfare for country and for Christ. For a long time it was a struggle for mere existence. The Saracens, equal to their foes in valour and religious enthusiasm, far superior in number, military skill, and material resources, maintained their political supremacy almost undiminished for 300 years. Their intellectual superiority was still more conspicuous. The realm of the Spanish Ummayyeds surpassed the magnificent empire of Charlemagne, who made his court the chief centre of Christian culture in the west, not more in industry and wealth than in varied learning, and in skill in the arts that adorn civilised life. From the schools of Cordova the knowledge of Greek philosophy, of astronomy, of medicine, of chemistry, of mathematics, and the more doubtful lore of astrology, alchemy, and necromancy spread over Latin Christendom. The power and glory of the Ummayyeds culminated during the tenth century in the splendid reigns of Abderrhaman III., Alhakim II., and the Regency of Almanzor. By the fall of this great dynasty in the eleventh century, the western caliphate was broken to pieces. Its fragments, fashioned by ambitious Emirs into independent and rival kingdoms, yielded in rapid succession to the vigorous assaults of the Christians. And in this great national and religious conflict, Christian conquest did not merely or mainly mean the aggrandisement of a sovereign and his principal chiefs. All classes of the victorious Christians sharing in

the perils and privations shared also in the spoils of the Holy War. The king, however his territory might expand, continued to be *primus inter pares*, the leader of a nation of freemen, his authority depending largely on the general sense of his personal merit. The Church was militant in the widest sense of the word. The clergy not only shrived the Catholic hosts before battle, and ministered to the wounded and dying, but, under sanction of the legendary exploits of the national patron St. James on the famous field of Clavijo, fought in the van under the banner of the Cross. In such circumstances it followed as an invariable rule that an ample portion of the fruits of triumphant faith should be consecrated to pious uses. The nobles, equals, by origin, of the king, many of them little inferior to him in wealth or personal dignity, sometimes surpassing him in renown, claimed, in broad lands and exceptional privileges, rewards corresponding to the highest scale of desert. And each town recovered from the Moor became a free community, enjoying rights of self-government, and endowed with considerable territory; a new bulwark against the infidel guarded by its own armed citizens. In no other country was the Church so wealthy or so venerated; was the Churchman so closely identified with the statesman and the warrior. It was not only natural genius, but also the training he received as Archbishop of Toledo that enabled Cardinal Alborno, the second founder of the temporal dominion of the popes, to vanquish with their own weapons the ablest condottieri and the subtlest politicians of Italy. Nowhere else were the nobles so proud, so powerful, so turbulent in peace, in war so fortified by high aspiration and disdain of peril. In no other land did the spirit of chivalry, the glory of feudal aristocracy, embodied in its purest form and consecrated to its noblest aims in the military orders, so thoroughly pervade life and manners as in the land of the Cid. The Knights of the Temple and of St. John had large possessions in Castile and Aragon. And Spain could boast of three military orders of her own, still more richly endowed, and not less illustrious. These orders were the flower of the Christian armies and the terror of the infidel. In periods of truce with the Moors the knights were to be found errant in every part of Europe, redressing wrongs and shielding the oppressed, at a time when ordinary government afforded little

protection to the weak against organised violence or lawless passion.\* Spanish towns acquired municipal liberty, and rose to political consequence, at an earlier period even than the towns of Northern Italy. The first municipal charter known to modern history was granted to the city of Leon in 1020, by Alfonso V.† A hundred years before Leicester's Parliament met in England, the Spanish burghers were represented in the Cortes of Castile and of Aragon. And long after the great majority of the free cities of Italy had fallen into servitude and decay, the cities of Spain continued to grow in wealth and independence. Barcelona exercised nearly all the prerogatives of a sovereign state. She made treaties of commerce with foreign powers. Her fleets swept the Mediterranean. Her famous naval code was the first compiled in modern Europe, and formed the basis of its maritime law. Even when the Catalan power was on the wane, Charles V. declared that it availed him more, in his warfare with the Turks, to be Count of Barcelona than Roman Emperor. Saragossa and Valencia fell little short of Barcelona in extent of franchises or in political weight. The towns of Castile, in times of public disorder, united in the armed league of the Holy Brotherhood to repel the encroachments of the crown, or to chastise the insolence of the nobles. Their representatives in the Cortes controlled public expenditure and corrected abuses of administration. Their consent was necessary to the making of laws and the levying of taxes; to every change in the constitution of the state or the framework of executive government. Valladolid was able, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, to send 30,000 armed men into the field.

Under these combined influences of faith, chivalry, and freedom, and led by kings who were often statesmen and heroes, and sometimes saints, the Spaniards made rapid progress against foes as brave and zealous as themselves, commanding in far greater measure the resources and appliances of warfare, and constantly reinforced by the martial fanaticism of Northern Africa. The turning point of the struggle was the great victory of Las Navas de Tolosa,

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\* So late as the fifteenth century, we find them mentioned in the Paston letters, and the *chroniques* of Monstrelet.

† Prescott, "History of Ferdinand and Isabella."



gained by Alfonso IX. of Castile, in 1212, over the Almo-hades. By the middle of the thirteenth century the old empire of the Spanish Arabs had been pared down to the kingdom of Grenada, whose sovereign paid homage and tribute as a vassal of the crown of Castile. But the end of Moslem dominion in Spain was still distant. The last Moorish kingdom found safety not so much in its own strength and resources—although these were altogether abnormal—as in the divisions of its enemies. The kings of Aragon, seeing their victorious progress southward stopped by the Castilian conquest of Murcia, directed the turbulent energies of their subjects to fields of foreign adventure. In Castile, dynastic strife and the foreign wars that grew out of it; the long minorities and the marked degeneracy of its kings; anarchy promoted by a too powerful nobility; constant feuds with neighbouring Christian princes, were effectual bars to any vigorous national effort for the completing of a conquest so nearly achieved. The attitude of the kings of Grenada towards their liege lords oscillated, according to circumstances, between submission and defiance. The military orders and the great nobles of Andalusia, reinforced by volunteers from every part of Spain and of Europe, seized every opportunity of warfare with the infidels. But these hostilities, although illustrated by splendid feats of valour, were, of necessity, desultory and indecisive. And after the lapse of one hundred and fifty years from the death of St. Ferdinand of Castile, the territorial limits of the rival creeds remained almost exactly as his conquests had left them.

Irrespective of material loss and gain, Spaniard and Moor had derived profit from relations so varying in character, and so protracted. Even in the early flush of victory and fanatical zeal the Arabs had shown themselves tolerant to their vanquished foes. The Christians were allowed to observe, in subjection, their national and religious customs. Frequent intermarriages quickened and refined with southern vivacity the more sluggish temperament of the Goth. The Spaniards acquired from their masters some tincture of science and artistic culture, knowledge of various kinds of manufacture, skill in agriculture and mechanical arts. When they recovered freedom, they rivalled their teachers in the pursuits of industry.

Much of their earlier literature, as the Provençal poetry of Catalonia, and the Spanish ballads, have been thought to bear vividly the impress of Arabian genius.\* On the other hand, the Arabs caught from their enemies something of the spirit of chivalry, and a passionate love of its splendid pageantry and knightly pastimes. They learned to cultivate the gentle virtues inculcated by a higher moral law than their own. Their friendship was of truer quality; their enmity was more tempered by humanity, courtesy, and punctilios of military honour; their domestic life was purer, more embellished by social graces and refined sentiment; their women enjoyed greater freedom and respect than in other Musselman countries where no extraneous influence tempered the principles of a barbarous and sensual creed.†

At length, towards the close of the 15th century, Isabella, the noblest and most truly great of all Queens regnant, roused up Castile to bring the long conflict to a close by the conquest of Grenada. She owed her Crown not so much to hereditary right, although that was sufficiently clear, as to the admiration conceived by the Castilian people for her extraordinary virtues and beauty. She found it shorn of nearly all its ancient authority and revenue. Reckless grants in defiance of the Constitution, and the usurpation of powerful nobles, had stripped it nearly bare of its hereditary domains. John II., her father, in whom enlightened tastes atoned in some degree for feebleness of character, had practically resigned the government of Castile for thirty years of his reign into the hands of the great Constable Alvarez de Luna. His son and successor, Henry IV., a worn-out voluptuary before he arrived at man's estate, was all his life the puppet of harlots and rapacious adventurers. The degradation of this worthless prince from his royal dignity by the Archbishop of Toledo, with every circumstance that could lend solemnity to an expression of public ignominy, was one of the most dramatic scenes in the wonderful drama of Spanish history. Henry, thus dis-

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\* Conde, "History of the Spanish Arabs." This view is also taken by Father Andreu, Sismondi, and Ginguéné in his "Literary History of Italy." On the other hand, Raynouard, the elder Schlegel, and Ticknor hold that the earlier Spanish poetry is entirely original.

† "History of the Spanish Arabs."

honoured, owed a precarious tenure of sovereignty to the conscientious scruples of his sister Isabella. He requited the respect she showed for his rights by resorting to fraud and violence in order to force her into a degrading marriage, and by nominating as his successor Doña Juãna, nicknamed La Beltraneja, the illegitimate daughter of his profligate Queen. Isabella married her cousin Ferdinand, the heir of Aragon. When the victory of Joro over Alfonso V. of Portugal, and a powerful faction of Castilian nobles, had seated her firmly on the throne, she applied herself with equal wisdom and vigour to establish a strong government, and to eradicate the intolerable abuses which had grown up unchecked during the preceding reigns. Resting on the zealous support of the Cortez, she reclaimed the usurped possession of the Crown; compelled the nobles to relinquish pernicious habits of private war; organized a national police; gradually increased the revenue of the State thirty-fold by searching reforms and judicious economies; restored the relaxed discipline of the clergy; caused the laws of the kingdom to be collected and digested in a code; opened schools in all the great towns, and invited distinguished scholars from Italy to instruct her subjects in the "new learning."\* And while she advanced patiently and strenuously in the path of reform, her noble qualities, her gracious manners and constant benefits, the scrupulous regard she showed on all occasions for legitimate rights and privileges, disarmed the hostility, and gradually won the devoted attachment of the haughty faction which had opposed her accession. Its ablest leader, Cardinal Mendoza, became the chief counsellor and the most efficient instrument of her patriotic policy.

Internal order having been re-established in Castile, Isabella directed all the resources and energies of a united people to the prosecution of the war which Muly Abul Hacen, King of Grenada, had rashly begun. The Moorish kingdom was almost exactly commensurate with the present province of Grenada. But the Spanish enterprise was far more arduous, and the contending forces were far more evenly matched, than

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\* Peter Martyr was the most illustrious of these scholars. He continued, until his death in 1525, high in favour with successive sovereigns of Spain. His correspondence with the most eminent men in Europe forms an admirable and accurate chronicle of the chief events of his time.

This circumstance would seem to imply. The kingdom of Grenada surpassed every state or territory of equal extent then existing in the world in power, riches, and population. The amazing fertility of its valleys, under an elaborate system of culture ; the exhaustless wealth of its mines famous from the earliest ages ; its ingenious industries in which the art and skill of man had reached the highest point of perfection ; its commerce spreading to the most remote regions by land and sea, enabled it to support a number of inhabitants which now appears fabulous. On a great emergency the King of Grenada could place in the field 100,000 warriors, admirably trained and equipped, brave, active, hardy, cunning in all the stratagems of war, and led by skilful and valiant chiefs. The military strength of the kingdom was constantly fed by swarms of fierce adventurers, the flower of the untameable tribes of Northern Africa. Among no other people was religious zeal more fervent, or love of country more passionate. The ordinary revenue of the King of Grenada is said to have equalled that of the King of France ; and he was absolute master of the lives and properties of his subjects. Lofty mountain ridges traversed by steep defiles which a score of resolute defenders might hold against an army, intersected the kingdom. The whole land bristled with great cities, and with fortresses perched on craggy heights, strengthened by all the known resources of military science, crowded with brave citizens accustomed from infancy to the use of arms, and impregnable to the Spaniards except by surprise, or famine, or treachery.

The war lasted ten years. It would probably have lasted much longer had not the Christian arms been aided by the bloody and unnatural feuds of rival Moorish kings. Its martial feats and romantic incidents, its glories and its woes, have fired the imaginations and touched the hearts of ten generations of men, and of nations then unborn. They have been embalmed by victors and vanquished in immortal song. The Christians possessed in Ferdinand of Aragon an able and sagacious leader. The Marquis of Cadiz, the hero of the Crusade, was a chief of splendid capacity and prowess ; and there were several other Christian chiefs hardly inferior to him in fame and merit. But the highest honours of victory



were justly adjudged to Isabella. It was her untiring energy, her unswerving faith, and the absolute empire which her singular virtues had won over the minds and hearts of the whole Castilian people, that made the conquest possible. She was the soul of the enterprise. Her lofty enthusiasm quickened it into life, sustained it in difficulty and defeat, crowned it with final success. The supplies of men and money which she drew year after year from Castile involved efforts and sacrifices to which even the instinct of self-preservation has seldom reconciled a people. She ministered to the wants of her soldiers with a provident care and self-devotion altogether unexampled. It was from her serene wisdom and dauntless spirit that Ferdinand, the Marquis of Cadiz, and the Council of Chiefs sought guidance in the great crises of the war. Every vital issue was referred to her as to an intelligence divinely illuminated by piety and faith. Her presence at the scene of operations was welcomed by the Christians as a certain presage of victory, and struck despair into the boldest Moslem hearts. And when the silver cross of Cardinal Mendoza, glittering between the standards of St. James and Castile on the highest turret of the Alhambra, proclaimed the end of Mohammedan rule in Spain, not merely was a new province added to Castile and to Christendom; a new Monarchy had risen into the first rank of Christian powers. Ten years of arduous warfare, of common effort and common sacrifice for the accomplishment of a great national object pursued during so many centuries, had consolidated the union of kindred peoples, symbolised in the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella. A new nation of original character and genius, full of youthful vigour, full of religious zeal, confident in itself, panting for renown, exercised in arms, had suddenly sprung upon the world, just at the time when a remarkable series of historical events opened to all its energies unlimited fields of action.

WALTER FITZPATRICK.

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## THE GREAT RELIGIOUS PROBLEM OF THE XIXTH CENTURY, AND "LUX MUNDI."

THE great religious problem of the age is the relation in which Revealed Religion stands to Inductive Science and to Biblical criticism ; and on its solution depends that of the age's lesser problems. "Lux Mundi" has attracted an immense interest, because it draws that problem very near to men. There are critical periods in the history of Thought as well as in that of nations. Among the former was that "High Church" movement which began at Oxford nearly sixty years ago with the publication of "Tracts for the Times," and which excited so much interest among thoughtful persons and so much ridicule among the superficial. The second of these periods was that of the "Gorham Judgment." It produced a whole literature of pamphlets, and soon afterwards a large secession from the Established Church, including several teachers who had been among its brightest ornaments, and the chief of whom have long since recovered in public estimation more than they had lost for a time. The third was occasioned by the publication of "Essays and Reviews," a book the utterances of which were not less important in their consequences on the faith of many readers than was the Gorham Judgment, though less palpable at the moment, and of a different sort. The book was denounced alike by the Evangelical and the High Church body ; but the Judgment pronounced on it by the "Crown in Council" was regarded as virtually an acquittal, notwithstanding that the Convocation of Canterbury had formally enumerated twelve doctrines of primary moment, "denied, called in question, or disparaged" by it. That Judgment has been compendiously described as

A declaration that to deny the inspiration of any portion of the New or Old Testament, so long as no entire book is thereby erased from the Canon, is not at variance with the articles or formularies of the Church of England.\*

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\* See Cardinal Manning's "England and Christendom" (p. 22).

After that Judgment an essential change, one already in progress, advanced with an accelerated speed. At first the "High Church" school had claimed to be, and was regarded by many as, the authentic representative of Anglican orthodoxy. After that Judgment it was commonly regarded as but one of several contending schools, all of them alike tolerated in the Established Church. Notwithstanding, that school continued to advance in spite of much persecution and calumny. That progress was attributed by its enemies to human credulity, and the attractions of a gorgeous ritual. It was in reality occasioned chiefly by the unquestioned sanction which "Anglican" principles received from the English Prayer Book, and antiquity, in spite of their momentous omissions; and it was yet more produced by the energy and self-sacrifice with which the assertors of those principles laboured, especially among the poor in the slums and alleys of the great cities. Its teaching had, moreover, enriched English intellects with many forgotten truths. The advocates of the "Broad School" boast that their own system opens out a platform for the largest number of disciples; but that space happens to be occupied by the smallest number of zealous adherents. The votaries of religious bodies outnumber the "broad" philosophers. This is not wonderful. Dogmas are but doctrines; and sound religious doctrines are but the highest Truths on the highest subjects. By true and thoughtful believers they are loved as spiritual helps and consolations; not disliked as hindrances, barriers, or limitations. The largest of religious bodies is that one which abounds in them most, though it also addresses itself most to the poor.

The High Church School continued to make way. Keble published his "Eucharistic Adoration," and what had been at best but a vague theory respecting a Real Presence left undefined, became a soul-subduing reality. The authentic idea of Christian worship was thus largely restored, and with it a proportionately deeper appreciation of the Christian creed. Where "The Mass is idolatry" had long been the cry, High Churchmen called their communion office "the Mass." Confession was preached by Dr. Pusey and others, with an ever-increasing plainness; and parents recognised in it a most helpful protection against sin. The old English divines of the

7th century, the unquestioned founders of English eloquence, and, in a large measure, of the best English philosophy, were read again, and also the writers of Catholic countries who carried "Church principles" to their legitimate conclusions: new churches rose up daily, ecclesiastical architecture and music were revived, and even the Dissenters caught something of a higher spirit and admitted organs into more church-like chapels. But to this fair picture unhappily there is a darker side also. Erastianism has advanced also. The ecclesiastical Courts encountered what was denounced as serious injury. The Sovereign still receives in the Episcopal oath of Homage the distinct profession of a spiritual as well as of a civil obedience. A purely civil court pronounces as to what is or is not by law within the limits of Anglican orthodoxy. Parliament, since the Sovereign acts through practically, though not in name, appoints the bishops, and has on several occasions suppressed bishoprics; and Parliament, which had long ceased to be in profession a Church of England assembly, has, since the admission of the Jews, ceased to be by necessity a Christian one, and since the admission of avowed atheists has ceased to be by necessity even a Theistic one; yet it still legislates on religious as well as secular subjects. It has legalised divorce, and to a large extent secularised university education. Latitudinarianism and Rationalism have made way as well as Church principles; and not these only, but Agnosticism itself. Thus in England there have been two tides of opinion, running, one of them, in the direction of spiritual authority and "Dogma," and the other in that of an unbelief which no longer wears a mask. It is, however, but just to admit that the ever-advancing Erastianism proceeds from no arbitrary disposition on the part of the State, nor from any desire to meddle with matters beyond her sphere. It is a prediction fulfilled. Cardinal Newman affirmed long since that a merely national church must be national in the first place and afterwards only as much of a church as it can afford to be.

Apparently we are come to a "new departure." If the *Essays and Reviews* marked a crisis, another book, "*Lux mundi*," marks one more serious far; for in it principles respecting "Biblical Inspiration," alarmingly like many,



though not all, of those put forward by the "Broad School," are asserted by prominent members of the High Church School, who in other matters differ wholly from the writers of the earlier work, and belong to the dogmatical and ecclesiastical teaching. In the resemblance of the two books, as well as in their diversity, there is a great significance. "*Lux Mundi*," like the '*Essays and Reviews*,' has its ardent admirers and its zealous opponents; and it is said to have gone through fifteen large editions in the two years since its publication. It has been discussed in most of the periodicals. It abounds in eloquence as well as in thought, the eloquence of sincere conviction; its spirit is for the most part reverent and its tone conciliating. To this, however, there is at least one important exception which demands notice.

The Essay in "*Lux Mundi*," entitled "The Holy Spirit and Inspiration," includes at page 327 (3rd Edition) a charge so entirely random and so plainly founded on misconception, that its non-retractation in the next edition seems strange. It is as follows:

When Christianity adopts, as in the modern Romanist system, a different tone proscribing free enquiry as rationalistic, and making the appeal to Antiquity "a treason and a heresy," it is abjuring its own rational heritage, and adopting a method which Charles Kingsley had good reason to call Manichean.

To this passage is appended a note referring to four passages in a work by one whom England has but lately lamented, Cardinal Manning's "*Temporal Mission of the Holy Ghost*." The teaching is identical in these four passages: it will suffice therefore here to give the whole of that one from which the isolated expressions cited in this Essay are taken. It is as follows:

As soon as I perceived the Divine fact that the Holy Spirit of God has united Himself indissolubly to the mystical body, or Church of Jesus Christ, I saw at once that the interpretations or doctrines of the living Church are true, because divine, and that the voice of the living Church in all ages is the sole rule of faith, and infallible, *because it is the voice of a Divine Person*. I then saw that all appeals to Scripture alone, or to Scripture and Antiquity, whether by individuals or by local Churches, are no more than appeals from the *divine voice* of the Living Church, and therefore essentially rationalistic.—*Temporal Mission of the Holy Ghost* (p. 29).

Again, he says (p. 238):—

The doctrines of the Church in all ages are primitive. It was the charge of the Reformers that the Catholic doctrines were not primitive, and their pretension was to revert to Antiquity. But the appeal to Antiquity is both a treason and a heresy. It is a treason because it rejects the Divine voice of the Church at this hour, and a heresy because it denies that voice to be divine. *How can we know what Antiquity was except through the Church.*

The Cardinal does not here depreciate Antiquity, but he exalts that which belongs, not to Time but to Eternity; while what he censures is an untrue *allegation* respecting Antiquity. What his assailant calls "the Modern Romanist System" is simply that of the Church from the beginning, which rejected, as did all its general Councils, from its Communion those sects that persistently rejected its teaching when defined and proclaimed, whether they rejected it as unscriptural, or as opposed to Antiquity, both of which charges were brought by Arius against the doctrine of the Trinity. One great principle is affirmed and re-affirmed throughout the whole of the Cardinal's work, and here is plainly insisted on in the words, "rejects the *Divine Voice*." It is this, that no merely human authority, whether that of individual judgment or that of a national concave, can lawfully rule in the Kingdom of Faith. Both these are fallible; and the soul needs certainty. It is the Holy Spirit who speaks in the Church's Creed. To reject that voice is not justified by a pretext. "It hath seemed good to the Holy host, and unto us."

The author of this essay, though attached to "Church principles," seems to have never grasped the idea of the Church's authority as regards doctrine. He affirms it only in such a sense as virtually to negative it. A real "Ecclesia docens" seems to him to disparage individuality; and he quotes several texts, which the Church insists on not less, but which he interprets very much as Puritans and Dissenters do. After saying, "Lux Mundi," p. 324, "Thus to keep the traditions is at all times, and not least in Scripture, a common Christian exhortation," he proceeds:—

But this common tradition is not meant to be a merely external law. It is meant to pass by the ordinary processes of education into the individual consciousness, and there, because it represents truth, to impart freedom.

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Now this, if read in the Catholic sense, is just what a Catholic constantly hears from the Church, but the context shows that it is meant in a sense not true, because it is but a half truth. It is part of the writer's praise of "Individuality" which the Church is accused of crushing. On the contrary, her great traditional creed is so far from being a merely external law that she accounts it valueless to those for whom it is not a great internal power, blending with the very depths of "Individual consciousness," and bearing fruit in the whole regenerate life. The writer proceeds:—

"St. Paul speaks of the developed Christian, the man who is spiritual" as "judging all things, and himself judged of none;" and St. John makes the ground of Christian certainty to lie, not in an external authority, but in a personal gift: "Ye have an unction from the Holy One, and ye know all things, ye need not that anyone teach you."

But the interpretation is here again amiss. St. Paul did claim to be a teacher, and affirmed, not that a regenerate individualism was the "pillar and the ground of the truth," but that the Church, that is the "One Body" with the "One Spirit" was such. And St. John said:—

"We (he means the Apostolic Rulers of the Church) are of God; he that knoweth God heareth us; he that is not of God heareth not us."

Those that have an unction are those who derive it from the Church living in her unity, through her one Faith and her world-wide Charity. St. Paul teaches that there are diversities of gifts, and that some are the teachers and some the taught. Both classes have an unction, but the grace which makes the believer does not by necessity make the prophet, the apostle, or the judge of doctrine. The Church propounds the right faith, teaching the nations as the Apostles were commanded to teach them; but she would teach in vain, as she constantly reminds us, if those that heard her message had not, from the Holy Spirit Who dwells in her, that high unction which alone enables them "spiritually to discern" that message. Very different from this is the essayist's conception of the Church and her children. He says:—

It is the reaction of the individual on the Society which is to keep the common tradition pure and unarrowed. The individual illumination is

thus to react as a purifying force upon the common mind of the Christian society. Such are the influences which ward off in each generation that tendency to deteriorate and to become materialised which belongs to all traditions (p. 326).

But the Church is not a mere human society; it is because she is the Body of Christ and the Temple of the Spirit that such influences can take no permanent hold of her. Doubtless her holier sons have often so aided her, both by denouncing abuses, and initiating great spiritual enterprises, as amply to pay "the debt of their education," but those sons have not been men who fancied that they had a mission to "reform" the Church's theological teaching. "If any man comes to us, and says that he has studied and assimilated the Christian creed with all the care and reverence in his ability" (the essayist tells us), "and has rejected it because he finds it irrational and false, we cannot complain of him" ("Lux Mundi," p. 327). The Apostles did complain of such, for they spoke of a gospel which was hidden from them that are lost, and so does the Apostolic Church. That is, she "speaks with authority." Religious bodies which do not claim to be the Church, but merely a separated 'branch' of it, must either claim a doctrinal authority and a religious certainty which cannot be theirs, or frankly confess that their claim, even in the gravest matters of doctrine, is no more than that of giving advice which no one is bound in conscience to take. The same confused and incoherent teaching is found in that chapter of Mr. Gore's Bampton Lectures which compares rhetorically, but not theologically, the Catholic with the Anglican "Rule of Faith."

To return from a digression necessary to prevent a complete misconception respecting the Catholic principle of Authority in matters of Faith, the chief question raised in "Lux Mundi" is one the seriousness of which at the present time cannot be over-rated. When the new Teaching respecting "Biblical Inspiration" was first put forth by members of the "Broad School," many readers said "This was to be expected. The direction in which a tree leans is that in which it will fall." When "Lux Mundi" appeared, many must have asked "What security remains to us now, when 'High Church' Teachers whose Theology had previously rested on the joint authority of the Church and of Holy Scripture, come forward



in a new character, and themselves direct our attention to painful difficulties, recently discovered, it would seem, in Holy Scripture, difficulties which regard, not its interpretation merely, but its inspiration as we have hitherto understood that term. They have apparently elaborated some new theory respecting the nature of inspiration; but they do not refer us to any Divine Authority through which we can reach any certainty as to whether that theory is the truth or not." Dr. Liddon's opposition to the new Teaching on this subject was a cry of distress, and a profoundly pathetic one. The Divine Inspiration of Holy Scripture is not merely a Christian *Doctrine*. It is one of the transcendent *Mysteries* affirmed in the Church's Creed, being virtually included in the clause "Who spake by the Prophets."

It may be well here to state that in the following remarks no attempt will be made to deal with the question of Biblical Inspiration, except as it affects the religious position of English thinkers and schools. On Inspiration itself two momentous definitions were made by the Vatican Council before the subject of the Papal Infallibility had been approached; and while much declamation has been wasted on the latter question, but little attention has been spent upon these two earlier definitions by those whom they most closely concern, and for whose protection they were probably made in part, as well as for the guidance of the Church's children. These two definitions, which but repeat the teaching of the Tridentine Council, affirm that the Canonical Scriptures are Divinely inspired *in their totality*, and not merely in large portions of them; and again, that they have *God for their author*. That brief statement will suffice as a preliminary to the much humbler question at present before us. Regarding that humbler question, not from a speculative, but from a practical point of view, the following remarks are intended to indicate that a very present help is at hand for such as are not too proud to use it; that man's need of that help was never so clearly attested as it is now through the triumphs of modern intellect; that the Word of God, anticipating that need, expressly and repeatedly refers us to the sole protection against the dangers that now threaten faith; and also to the means by which we can reach all the additional knowledge by man so imperfectly

explored as yet. Revelation is not, as some fancy, a bond, half broken and hanging loose about us, but a supreme hope rich in gifts still in store for us. It is the ladder promised to man from his first creation, by which our spiritual explorers have ascended thus high—not one to be now contemptuously kicked over, as superfluous henceforth, but one to be carried with them on and up, one without which they can neither climb the precipices which still intercept their ascent to the heights, nor effect a safe descent. For four thousand years and more, man was allowed to put forth all the strength of his faculties, and show to what he could attain, and what was his limit. Then the primal promise, that of the Incarnation, was fulfilled, and the gates of a spiritual universe were flung open before him. He discerned it—most of it stretching away into infinity—much of it nearer to him than the material world already his, and in part subdued to his use. The danger before us is no less than the loss of that Spiritual Universe, the "Kingdom of God," through the abuse of man's lesser gifts. The safe-guards against that danger are God's Word and God's Church, its authentic interpreter. Some are distressed or angry at being told that revelation does not come to them exclusively from the Written Word; but a man's inheritance is not the less his because it has been bequeathed to him in two forms of property—mutually supplemental.

Whence do our present religious difficulties arise? A few centuries ago a religious change took place with extraordinary rapidity. Battles between the "Regale" and the "Pontificale" had been of frequent recurrence, subsequently to the Norman Conquest; but they had related more to investitures, patronage, and Church property than to doctrine. It was so no longer. Amid the crash of down-falling abbey roofs polemical cries were heard. The new opinions did not meet with any sanction from the ancient Rule of Faith; and a new rule of a very ambiguous character was extemporized—that of individual opinion. Its initiators would have been surprised if anyone had told them how much more they were about to effect than they intended. A man who only desires to get rid of his waste papers may discover that he has burned the title deeds to his estate; and men of science assure us that a canal easily cut might, by the draining away of an inland sea

or by the formation of a new one where sandy deserts had previously spread, alter the climate of remote continents. Some of the new teachers acted under severe pressure from despotic sovereigns; some under the semi-pagan influence of the "Renaissance;" some under sincere religious enthusiasm; but most of them probably believed that the result of the spiritual revolution, then substituted for reform, as in the case of the first French Revolution, while it abolished many abuses, and gave a large scope to contending opinions, would leave untouched the great creeds of the early Church. Since then time has spoken, and unexpected elements are discovered to have existed latently in what to a blind confidence had seemed so little alarming. The real work of reform then necessary was one which could only have been worthily undertaken by a General Council acting in entire freedom. Such a Council, called in time, would have consolidated Christendom, and prepared it for new and higher destinies; but it was early discovered that "General Councils may not be gathered together without the commandment and will of princes," and England, detached from the unity of Christendom without her own desire by a series of acts the joint effect of which was not foreseen, found a new ecclesiastical constitution established "over its head"—one as different from that which had preceded it as a Republic is different from a Monarchy. Great troubles followed this experiment, and several revolutions, both political and spiritual; but we are now concerned only with the latest of these. It was intimately connected with the first, the so-called "Reformation," though no one anticipated that the earlier must occasion the later. The later is upon us now.

Beside the cradle of that "Reformation," the greatest revolution the world has yet known, two dragons had kept watch unseen; but the Infant Hercules neither marked them nor was strong enough to strangle them. The Portents waited and watched, and their day has arrived. They are only perilous to those who see no danger in them, and who have been deprived of the one sure protection against it, the Church's "Sacramentum Unitatis." Those two Portents are Biblical Criticism and that portion of Inductive Science which treads the border land between science and religion. These two things ought to have proved friends to Faith; but

great gifts may reverse their functions when circumstances have placed them in false relations with other gifts. The question at issue is whether that new knowledge which knocks at our doors is to assail or sustain Revealed Religion; and the answer to it depends on another, viz., What is the right Method and "Organon" for the acquisition of *Religious* knowledge?

The alternative lies between individualism and corporate action. But we must never confound mere Individualism with personal action. Of course the exercise of all the virtues, religious or moral, is a *personal* act, and in regard to these no individual can devolve his duties on his neighbour. Each person has to exercise faith, hope, and charity for himself; no one can do this for him. But the building up of that great theological creed respecting which each individual has to exercise that personal faith is another matter. What is the right "method" for the theological enquirer? Bacon taught us that in natural science that method is Induction. There the individual can work now by himself and now with others, as he pleases. Theology also must use a right philosophic method if it is to reach true conclusions. The method could not there be that of Induction; for, like the great world of metaphysical thought, Revelation does not admit of being tested by physical experiment. Revelation affirmed from the first that it was a gift to the human race, and to the individual only through the human race restored in its second Head to that unity the symbol of which was His seamless robe. When He had passed from earth, and later when the apostles had died, His Church ruled in His place; authenticated the canonical scriptures; collected them into a single Bible; and defined disputed truths in her General Councils. She gave us the creed; converted the world to that creed, in substance unchanged and unchangeable, but illustrating its primal truths with new definitions as new errors required them, and thus, in one sense, progressive as science is. If she authenticated the Scriptures, has she nothing to say as to their inspiration? That problem is for her, and for her alone.

But what was the method of that progressive theological knowledge? It was, in the main, *deductive*, not inductive. That process was rendered possible only through the creation



of that regenerated Humanity, the Church, an act nearly simultaneous with the great Redemptive Act. The primary verities immediately fixed in her (the Church's) mind were to her what postulates and axioms are in mathematics; and the Church in making her deductions from these was guarded from error by the indwelling Spirit sent to her at Pentecost, and abiding with her for ever, not only to recall all things to her mind, but also to lead her on into all truth.

If such be the Church her children can have nothing to fear and must have much to gain from sound Biblical criticism. Her creed was hers before a line of the New Testament was written. Her Faith is abundantly illustrated by that sacred volume, but it rests also on another foundation, and is hers independently of it. An apostle's doctrine was equally accepted by his converts whether delivered to them orally alone or embodied in an Epistle. The Church's teaching is equally accepted by those of her sons who can read and those who cannot read.

Very remarkable is the degree in which the practical question at issue is often lost sight of. A logical error is made in "the distribution of the subject." The real question begins after it has been conceded, first, that the inspiration of Holy Scripture does not mean a verbal inspiration, and secondly, that Holy Scripture was not intended to instruct us in natural philosophy or chronology, apart from the true subject matter of Revelation.

The Will and Ways of God, and the relation of man's soul to Him, constitute, it will be acknowledged, that subject matter; and, according to Catholic teaching, as all instructed persons know, the inspired Scriptures must, when interpreted by the Spirit Who inspired them speaking through God's Church, impart to men a knowledge infallibly guarded from error on (to say the least) 1st, Doctrine; 2nd, Morals; and 3rd, Dogmatic Facts, such as the Incarnation, the Resurrection, &c., *i.e.*, facts which include doctrine.

The interests of knowledge not less than those of Faith require that in our search after new knowledge we should remain secure against the loss of the best knowledge already ours. Without such a security we may change, but we cannot make progress, just as we cannot raise the wall unless the square and

plummet protect us from building out of the perpendicular. Religious and scientific knowledge are friends, not rivals; but the best friends, must respect each the rights of the other. The more care is here needed because the respective spheres of religion and science, though distinct, are not separate. They have their points of intersection. Each is knowledge, though knowledge of two very different sorts. Let us briefly apply this both to Biblical criticism and to inductive science in their relations to Faith. In carrying out his investigations on that subject the Catholic inquirer has one immeasurable advantage. He begins with a definite creed, and he is not tempted to discard it, since, so far as that creed is concerned, his knowledge is not that of mere probability but of certainty. This certainty makes the difference between Faith and opinion. For the Catholic a doctrine remains secure even when a text commonly quoted in support of it seems to be uncertain, for the doctrine itself lives on in the consciousness of the Church as it lived before that text was written. In the sects religious opinion is founded almost wholly on texts; but those very texts are themselves as open to criticism as any other texts. While the student of Biblical criticism is making his inquiries as to the authenticity of texts he cannot rest his theological convictions on them, because they are themselves witnesses on their trial. Those Anglicans who appealed to ecclesiastical authority as well as to the Bible, in past times, boasted that theirs was a ship that rode at two anchors, while the ship of the "Broad Church" had but one. The old High Church School, before the German criticism had much affected England, thus possessed a great advantage over the "Broad Church" School. It loses that advantage in proportion as its members put forward new and vague opinions respecting inspired Scripture, without advancing to any more definite conception of Church Authority. It is eloquent while writing on the Church, but the actual question at issue is "*evitata fervidis motis*," while the only Body which even professes to be organically one, and to speak by the One Spirit is stigmatised by it as a modern system." The real question is that of Certainty in religion *versus* that of philosophic opinion concerning religion. The Creeds begin with the words "I believe," not "I think."

From the first the one Book among books, and the one Polity among polities, were open, each of them, to much criticism, and criticism in a remarkable degree of the same character; and to this day such epithets as "dogmatic," "arbitrary," "imperious," "equivocal," "mystical," are applied impartially to both, while the Inspiration of the great Book, and the Infallibility of the great Polity present to some minds very similar difficulties, especially as regards the exact definition of each of these attributes; but notwithstanding, it is "in the mouth of two witnesses" that Truth is established. From the first the Word of God and the Kingdom of God rested on the same great idea—that of a Supernatural Order crowning the Natural Order. They both affirmed that the Pentecostal effusion of the Holy Spirit was no mere transient fact, but, like the Incarnation of the Second Person, an Eternal mystery, perpetually fruitful in good to man. The Anglican High Church School had grasped a great idea, even if but with the uncertain grasp of a child. If, instead of trafficking boldly with the treasure, it hides its talent in a napkin, would it not be wise to defer the discussion of those two great problems of modern times, with which it has not, in its present isolation, strength to deal? Not every one can bend the bow of Ulysses.

In the meantime, how fare those who raised loudest the cry "The Bible the religion of Protestants?" Some carry a "light heart" with them and say that the work of their fathers must be completed, and the Bible dealt with as the Church was. Not so the more thoughtful and the more reverent. It is on that Bible that all the spirits of criticism have at last descended, or to which they are directing their course; and among the religious bodies withdrawn from unity, many who watch their flight have ever in their ears the cry of the Harpies, and that ill-omened voice which warned the Trojan wanderers that a famine would come upon them, so sore that they would be reduced to devour their own tables.

Let us next consider a few of the relations of Science with Religion. Certain scientific theories are advanced:—It is only after the lapse of years that science can pronounce whether these are truths or illusions. But in the meantime, the Church can determine, when this becomes necessary, whether those

theories assail the substance of Revealed Truth, or whether they touch but matters beyond its sphere. It is in vain to urge that the Christian Revelation can never be thus affected in its essentials, unless there exists some divinely aided witness capable of informing the simple what belongs essentially to the domain of Revelation, that is, of Faith, Morals, and Doctrinal facts, and what lies outside it. Take an instance. If the Church were to decide that the universality of the deluge is a question *not* included in the great deposit of the Faith, she could doubtless also decide, notwithstanding, that the descent of the human race from Adam, corresponding with its redemption through the second Adam, Christ, *is* included. Her children, therefore, would know that whatever men of science might hastily accept in opposition to the latter doctrine would one day be disowned by science herself, as so many supposed discoveries have been. Roman Catholics have therefore no anxiety on the subject. The true discovery would not affect the Faith:—the illusory one would one day be detected.

For others, indeed, the danger is far greater than some aspect. They are threatened not only by the actual, but by the possible results of scientific enquiry. The believer is summoned to suspend his belief until the last new scientific theory has been proved or disproved. But that enquiry may last for centuries, and man's life is short. While the enquiry lasts, little remains to one whose religion rests but on individual opinion, except a crippled conditional belief—one that escapes him like a handful of sand which oozes out between the fingers the more rapidly the more closely they endeavour to grasp it. It is a sad thing when each text, or each doctrine, still retained by those who would fain be faithful is but a fortress that holds out with a conditional loyalty, and only still summoned to surrender by an invader whose strength it is not easy to calculate beforehand.

In that Church, which, in matters of Revealed Religion, is by her children recognised as "The pillar and the ground of the truth," there is no room for such anxieties. She can afford to rejoice in all true scientific progress. But she can afford also to say, "Science is not bound by all that is affirmed in its supposed interests."

To disparage the inspiration of Holy Scripture, as hitherto



understood in England, and at the same time to set scornfully aside the Catholic Rule of Faith, owing to strange misconceptions respecting it, is at once to expose troubled minds to signal dangers, and also to deprive them of those especial aids providentially accorded to them by the present crisis in the world of theological thought. If those whose Polar star is just now hidden in clouds are also advised to throw the ship's compass overboard, what remains for the mariner who hears breakers ahead? A voice only, and one not cheerful: "Nudus in ignota, Palinurus, jacebis arena."

It is not the Revealed Faith, it is the unproved, though plausible, theory which men are bound to hold only conditionally till it has been proved. This is the interest of science itself. Such statements are met by the cry of "Priestcraft." The Ptolemaic system of the universe did not come from priests, but from men of science. It held its own for above a thousand years; and then it was discovered by a Catholic priest, Copernicus, to be a mistake. He did not publish his discovery for thirty-six years after he had made it, fearful lest it might prove fallacious, and if fallacious, mischievous; and then he published it at the urgency of great ecclesiastics, and at the command, as well as with the permission of the reigning Pope, who directed that the book should be dedicated to himself. Bacon, and later Milton, spoke with doubt as to the Copernican theory. Confidence grows more rapidly in our day. It is now sometimes confidently affirmed that the sun and stars must in time lose their light and heat. A letter from a true philosopher, Sir William Rowen Hamilton, late Astronomer Royal of Ireland, written in a very different spirit, will be found in the admirable biography of him by the Rev. Robert Perceval Graves. It remarks that we must wait patiently till the farther progress of science discovers what is that recuperative force which restores their light. If a similar patience is recommended as a duty to religion, the answer is sometimes as sneer. Yet the loss occasioned by a false scientific theory, even if the error should eventually be detected, may be irreparable. The habit of religious doubt may have been formed, and in that case a second illusory discovery will soon take the place of its predecessor. Religious truth can never be impugned, we are told, by scientific truth. No doubt; but it may be impugned by scientific error; and

the ordinary progress of scientific knowledge is through partial error to truth.

Scientific theories claim no more than probability till they have been demonstrated by time and the consent, practically universal, of scientific men—such a consent as has but lately condemned Newton's corpuscular theory of light. On the other hand, it is certainty, not probability, which the Holy Scriptures claim for Revelation; and it is the Church that makes good that claim. Those who have not that certainty for science, and fear also to resist the most rash claim made for her name. The difficulty which besets the non-Catholic student, who has to face the problem of the 19th century under the conditions bequeathed by the 16th, is not that of uniting fixed faith with an enquiring mind: it is that of soaring to the higher regions of truth with one pinion shorn off. He has a false method of thought in religion, viz., "private judgment," and he feels his weakness. That false method is not, not by deliberate philosophic choice, but by inheritance, that is through a local tradition.

England has now to choose whether she will retain her faith in the Bible, and with it her half-restored belief in that latter wonder—a Church whose prime office is that of witnessing to Divine truth with a Divine certainty—or whether it shall be said of her, "The children are come to the birth and there is not strength to bring forth." Two spirits contend within her—that of a Faith heart-whole, and that of an unbelief which shelters itself under the decent veil of an equivocal terminology. She has two decisions before her, that of a General Council with its 800 prelates, and that of the Crown in Council."

Some will ask, "If we took the Church's witness as our rule of Faith respecting questions that stand upon the border-land between science and religion, will not our position be such, that we shall forfeit the gift which science promises us because we hide our eyes in the sand, and shall run to man for protection because we had no faith in God?" Their position would be the contrary of this. In religion they would not close their eyes the less, because they used also the optic glasses of the Church. For once that scientific progress was retarded it would often be expedited; and more than a rare and brief

retardation there could not be wherever the supposed scientific discovery was a real one. From nearly all the sciences no religious anxieties could proceed; and in all of them wise men would exercise the faculties which God has given them without fear, since religion would then possess a divine protection. The Anglican clergy entertained considerable jealousy with respect to geology before the claims of that science were established; and but few will think they were to blame on that account. There is, of course, a single instance in which an erroneous decision was made by a Roman tribunal respecting a text bearing on a mixed question of science and religion; but Cardinal Newman spoke aright when he remarked that to a philosophic mind the wonder must be, not that one such case can be pointed out, but that only one such is found. No well-informed person needs to be reminded that the judgment then delivered possessed none of those "notes" by which an utterance claiming to be infallible is characterised.

The Catholic knows as well as the Rationalist that science and biblical criticism must be ever progressive; but he knows also that their progress can never interfere with the stability of the Church's theology when once formally defined. That great inheritance must ever be as secure as it was in the days of the early martyrs. Besides this immutable faith, there exist in the Church opinions, now on the meaning of a text, now on other matters. Many of these have neither been sanctioned nor condemned by the Church. The Faith neither rests on them nor is jealous of them. Outside her fold this distinction between mere opinions and doctrines defined and certain hardly exists. In the separated bodies the fall of one among these mere opinions may shake down the doctrine that stands next it. In them the anxiety of many is just, and profoundly pathetic.

The Catholic enquirer can have no cause for anxiety. What the Church has already defined respecting Revelation he believes with an explicit faith, and what she may define hereafter with an implicit faith, just as an early convert believed not only what an apostle had already taught him, but also by anticipation what he promised to teach when his disciples were fit for more advanced knowledge. The sciolist may smile at "implicit" faith, but not the true man of science

The peasant often laughs at scientific truths, such as that there are men at the Antipodes (which, as he figures to himself, means that they are standing with their heads down), and that the sun neither rises nor sets. Sense often thus quarrels with Reason, and in like manner Reason with Faith, chiefly from the superficial, not seeing the real point at issue; but Reason believes in the geometry of the future as well as in that of the past; and the separated bodies, much to their credit, not only believe in what the Bible has taught them already, but also in what they may later learn from it. Explicit faith builds on the rock, not the sand; but beneath all true explicit faith there extends an implicit faith, as solid as the planet itself, and as wide.

To return to "Lux Mundi:" The resemblances between it and the "Essays and Reviews" are not—and at this we must all rejoice—more significant than is their diversity, both in their tone and spirit and in their doctrinal statements.

"Lux Mundi" has no passages like the following in the earlier work:—

Nor for any of the higher or supernatural views of inspiration is there any foundation in the Gospel or Epistles.

And again:—

It is possible, and may one day be known that mankind has spread, not from one, but from many centres, over the globe.

Still less has it such statements as the following:—

When maintaining the Athanasian doctrine of the Trinity, we do not readily recall the verse, "Of that hour knoweth no man, neither the Son, nor the Father" (p. 443, 10th edition); or the following, "Still greater difficulties would be introduced into the Gospels by the attempt to identify them with the creeds. We should have to suppose that He (Christ) was not tempted; that when He prayed to God He prayed to His Father; He prayed also to Himself."

The principles of that book ("Essays and Reviews") wage practically a war against the supernatural in religion; and too many of its readers have probably carried them out to their legitimate consequences. The mathematician can predict to what point his curve will reach when extended; unfortunately



the moral and religious teacher often learns the real scope of his principles only from a younger generation, which has adopted them but which has not inherited those happier traditions with which, in the case of the teacher, they were blended, and by which they were in part neutralised.

But in the "*Lux Mundi*" also there are many passages, which, as they stand, and unsupplemented, cannot fail to alarm thoughtful readers, while there are others which suggest that the writer felt vaguely, if he did not see clearly, where alone protection against their tendencies was to be found. Here is an example, by a different writer, of the latter class. It deserves very hearty sympathy.—

Once more, the belief in the Holy Scriptures as inspired requires to be held in context by the belief in the general action of the Holy Spirit upon the Christian society and the individual soul. It is, we may perhaps say, becoming more and more difficult to believe in the Bible without believing in the Church (p. 238).

This is profoundly true; but it falls short of the real point at issue, viz., in what Church we are thus to believe. Is it one whose Articles affirm that General Councils "may err, and sometimes have erred, even in things pertaining to God?" Here is another excellent passage by the writer last quoted:—

How irrational it is, considering the intimate links by which the New Testament Canon is bound up with the historic Church, not to accept the mind of the Church, especially when we have its consent down independent lines of Tradition.

Must one not ask again "What Church?" Is it one that rejects an Article of the Nicene Creed ("Proceeding from the Father and the Son"), denies that either Catholics or Protestants retain the right Baptism, and can hardly claim for herself two out of the four "Notes of the Church" proclaimed in the Nicene Creed, viz., Oneness and Universality? Is it the three "Branch Churches" in Union? But they are out of union; and they do not share the modern faith in Branch Churches. Is it the so-called "Primitive Church?" But none of the Fathers spoke of the Holy Scriptures as the modern critics speak; and several of them spoke of them in a tone more resembling that of those who hold "verbal inspiration." The appeal to the

Church is doubtless a sound one; but the answer of the Church is: "If you hold Church Principles, obey them:—the great and critical tasks of Theology are for the Church. The right order is inverted if isolated members of separated bodies sit in judgment on the Bible," because their conclusions cannot be practically made conditional on the Church's confirmation of them.

If learning, a reverent habit, and a zealous devotion to the Christian Faith, all of which qualities are generally attributed to the author of the essay on Biblical Inspiration, if these things sufficed for his task, doubtless the execution of that task would have corresponded with its author's good intention. Unhappily, it is not so. He not only tells us that large portions of the Old Testament may be "dramatic," but he applies to other portions the name of "Myth," a term which does not designate a special form of composition, such as "dramatic," or "lyrical," but oftener its substance and essential character. We associate "Myths" with the legends of many early nations, and the essayist illustrates the term by these; and though it is only fair to add that he also calls them "inspired," yet that is a word often used in a human as well as in a Divine sense, and by some readers may be interpreted in the former. Here is a passage which may easily be thus interpreted:—

A myth is not a falsehood: it is a product of mental activity, as constructive and rich as any later product, but its characteristic is that it is not yet distinguished into history and poetry, and philosophy. It is all of these in the germ, as dream and imagination, and thought and experience are fused in the mental furniture of a child's mind . . . "Now has the Jewish history such earlier stage? Does it pass back out of history into myth? In particular, are not its earlier narratives, before the call of Abraham, of the nature of myth, in which we cannot distinguish the historical germ, though we do not at all deny that it exists?" The inspiration of these narratives is as conspicuous as that of any part of scripture. But is there anything to prevent our regarding these great inspirations about the origin of all things as conveyed to us in that form of myth or allegorical picture, which is the earliest mode in which the mind of man apprehended Truth?

But centuries after Abraham's time, and far apart from mythic lore on the origin of things, "allegorical pictures" would seem, according to this essay, to have taken the place of  
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authentic history. They are there described as "the attribution to first founders of what is really the remoter result of their "institutions." (p. 352.)

Now historical criticism assures us that this process has been largely at work in the Pentateuch . . . . It distinguishes distinct stages in the growth of the law of worship; at least an early stage, such as is represented in "The Book of the Covenant," a second stage in the Book of Deuteronomy, a last stage in the Priestly Code. What we may suppose to have happened is that Moses himself established a certain germ of ceremonial enactment in connection with the ark and its sacred tent, and with the "ten words;" and that this developed always as "the Law of Moses," the whole result being constantly attributed, probably unconsciously, and certainly not from any intention to deceive, to the original founder. (p. 353.)

Dr. Lidden's comment on these views is—and Dr. Pusey's would probably not have differed from it—

It is inconceivable that if Deuteronomy and the Chronicles were composed in the manner that is now asserted by some adherents of the new school of criticism, these books could ever have been organs of the Spirit of Truth.

He saw that whether the process described was "conscious perversion," or only the "unconscious idealisation" of history, a book supposed to be largely thus written would not long be regarded as a reliable one, even though quite free from the charge of being an imposture. This essay's estimate of "unconscious idealization of history," as distinguished from "conscious perversion," is the more disquieting because it is applied, not to the earlier period of so-called "myths," but to whole centuries later than Abraham's time, concerning which, the essayist writes in a manner which, even taken by itself, to many will not be reassuring. He says (352)

We are, we believe, not wrong in anticipating that the Church will continue to believe and teach that the Old Testament, from Abraham downwards, is really historical.

With "myths" before Abraham's time, and "unconscious idealization" in much later times, the meaning of the term "historical" seems here very uncertain, to say the least.

The essay gives us a very frank, but very serious, warning.

t says—

We are asked to make considerable changes in our literary conception of the Scriptures, but not greater changes than were involved in the acceptance of the Heliocentric Astronomy.

The change from the Heliocentric or Ptolemaic to the Copernican system of the universe was the most stupendous one recorded in science, and we are now told that a similar change in Theology is close at hand. If so, it may be consummated in less time than that which has elapsed since the "Gorham Judgment." Luther stigmatized the Epistle of St. James as "an Epistle of Straw;" and others among the German reformers would have excluded several more Epistles from the Canon. By whose hand is the great new spiritual revolution to be completed? The pupils will again out-run the earlier teachers; and the tendency of much Biblical criticism in England already seems not so much that of excluding particular books from the Canon, as that of changing the whole Canon into one large "Apochrypha." Is it wise to run any risk of expediting this process? England's protection against such dangers was long thought to consist in the advance of "Church principles," not vague, but such as can provide an authoritative witness, to imperilled doctrine as well as to Biblical inspiration. That such an advance still continues seems indicated by a Declaration signed by thirty-eight dignitaries of the Anglican Church, and published in the *Times* during December, 1891. It includes this important confession, made by clergymen of many schools of thought:—

We believe the Holy Scriptures to have this Divine authority on the testimony of the Universal Church, the Spouse, and Body of Christ, the Witness, and Keeper of Holy Writ.

This is a large concession and also a significant statement. Where should we be now if the "One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church" did not exist still, and bear distinct witness still to the Inspiration of the same great Book which she has so often been charged with fearing and disliking and making null?

A subject of transcendent and world-wide importance lies before us—that of Biblical Inspiration considered in its totality.



Parts of it have been discussed by Cardinal Newman and other Catholic theologians in entire deference to the ultimate judgment of the Church. Had no such ultimate authority existed that great man would probably have regarded the theme as one too high for him to touch. Anglicans treating the same theme are thus not like, but unlike, Catholics. They are men holding "High Church" principles, but apparently not appreciating their momentous relation to the present crisis.

In "Lux Mundi" the next essay to that on inspiration is one entitled "The Church." It says much that is both deep in thought and eloquent from its earnestness; but its omissions suggest the idea of ability cramped by a false position. It tells us that the Church has authority as regards the interpretation of the Scriptures, but it says nothing respecting the four chief "Notes of the Church" asserted in the Nicene Creed. On the contrary it tells us that "Its (the Church's) truths have indeed spread beyond itself, so that men find them now in *bodies opposed to it, and therefore are perplexed and do not know where their allegiance is really due* (p. 400)." This is a strong statement, and no doubt if the Church's "note" of unity could be dispensed with, or reduced to a unity moral only and not moral and organic both, the same might be alleged with respect to the "note" of apostolicity, and then the sects which do not claim the apostolical succession might claim, notwithstanding, an apostolical authority. This consideration may have suggested to the writer of the essay the following passage. May it prove a prophecy!

Amid the increasing specialisations of studies, amid all the new discoveries of science and historical criticism, with all the perplexities that arise as to the interpretation and inspiration of the Bible, now if ever there is need of a Church which, conscious of its own spiritual life, knowing that its spiritual truths have stood the test of centuries, has patience and courage to face all those new facts and see their bearing and take their measure; which all the while shall go on teaching to its children with an absolute but rational authority, the central facts of the spiritual life, and shall never doubt the ultimate unity of all truth (p. 401).

Yes, that is the true solution! Why do those who see thus much fail to see that the first duty of one holding "Church principles" and one who would write on that tremendous subject, "Biblical Inspiration," must be to find the Church

thus eloquently described (there is but one claimant to such a description); and having thus discovered a real, not a nominal, Court of Appeal to which the labours of individual teachers can be referred, then to write his matured thoughts fearlessly, though conditionally, in the consciousness that for one thus guarded, to write strongly need not be to write rashly? If in his judgment no such tribunal now exist and the Unity of the Church has been suspended because there are, as there were from the beginning, disputes among Christians, would it not follow from such a theory that, until the lost Unity has been restored the time has not come for the handling of so vast a question as Biblical Inspiration? Surely the Church alone, not individuals, and individuals at war with each other, can be competent to sit in judgment on the Bible! If the separated bodies be unfit for such an office, must not isolated individuals be more unfit for it still? Dr. Liddon denounced theories of inspiration in which he saw danger, but he abstained from propounding any complete theory of inspiration himself. He may, or may not, have been satisfied with the usual English sentiment respecting Biblical Inspiration; but he had had too long an experience to suppose that mere individual enterprises respecting it, with no authoritative sanction, could fail, unless most carefully guarded, to increase the religious confusion of England and disunite those who, labouring in harmony, had done much for her spiritual progress in spite of great difficulties. Dr. Liddon may also well have thought that if some extremists of the "Broad" School might be held in check by speculations less advanced than their own, many more in the High Church body might very soon be troubled by doubts never known to them before; and he may have feared that principles largely held in two out of the three chief schools of English religious thought might rush, as in Germany, with a fatal speed through a land thus cut adrift a second time from its old traditions. He probably remembered that where theorising is easy, accurate knowledge hard to reach, and inaccurate doctrine most dangerous, prudence becomes a solemn duty and the "inopportune" a vital consideration. There is nothing which a wise enquirer on such delicate subjects should more desiderate for himself than a wholesome control, checking precipitate speculation, especially when addressed to minds

unprepared for them. It is only a Church visibly bearing the notes of the Church, and uniting a divine authority with a parental influence, which can resist pressure, and know when to speak and when to be silent. Father Faber used to speak of England with high praise, hope, and affectionate sympathy on account of the reverence which she still retained for the Holy Scriptures compared with the rudeness with which they had been assailed in Germany. All Anglicans who hold "Church principles" desire the restoration of unity throughout Christendom, and also must know that nothing could more retard that event than a diminished belief in Biblical inspiration. Surely many of them must ask themselves the question whether it is before or after that happy consummation has taken place that the most arduous of religious subjects, can be most safely and profitably discussed. The attachment of the English people hitherto has been directed, it may be hoped, more to the Bible than to "private judgment," whereas in Germany, there is cause to fear that it has recently been directed more to private judgment than to the Bible. Whatever diminishes England's reverence for the Bible must proportionately diminish her reverence for religion itself, so long and so closely have these two things been entwined in the English mind. No doubt amid the confusions, religious and political, moral and social, as well as the widespread spiritual desolation which must prove the consequence of such a diminished reverence many of all classes would seek refuge in the Church of their forefathers; but no true Catholic could desire such an augmentation to her fold if purchased at the cost of a corresponding accession to the ranks of unbelief.

Let us briefly resume what has been here said. Three centuries ago England was withdrawn, not by her own choice but by astutely despotic rulers and disloyally servile parliaments, from Ecclesiastical Unity. About a century ago many of her sons discovered that mere Individual Opinion with the Christian name of "private judgment" could not charm a consistent and assured theology out of a Book alone, even though an inspired Book. These persons raised a second protest. This time the protest was not against the Church; it was against "Dogma;" for the grapes were sour. The next generation found that a revealed religion—one neither a

mere "Law" nor a mere "sentiment," but a revelation of Divine Truth resting on Faith—could not dispense with revealed doctrines. Then a third cry rose, chiefly in Germany. This time it was neither "Private judgment" nor "No dogma;" it was "no Supernatural," "no Revelation," "no Inspiration," "no Infallibility." The lesson bequeathed to us by this three-fold experience is that what God has joined no man can separate. God has given us two great gifts, viz., the Kingdom of God and the Word of God. To keep the last of these we must keep both. If a nation so long faithful and heroic should retain what abides and recover what has been lost, she will fulfil a great duty due to the past; she will also use, for higher purposes than she now dreams of, those modern gifts which are her lawful boast, freedom, science, civilisation; and she will ascend to greater heights than she had reached in her olden time. Of course it is possible, on the other hand, to imagine the mind of a nation detaching itself progressively in the pride of science "falsely so called" or of material prosperity, from all vital commerce with spiritual things, and yet continuing to fancy that it was making progress. Such progress would be but that of a planet severed from the bond that since its creation had bound it to its central sun, and rushing blindly straight on with an ever-aggravated swiftness into an ever-deepening night. England has had too great a past not to have a destiny before her far different from this; but before that destiny is fulfilled there are several great problems which she has to solve. The greatest of these is that religious one which now lies before her but which no religious body can deal with without the most imminent danger, unless it is in religious unity with Christendom and with itself.

If this be the great lesson which recent times have taught us, can it be either wise or righteous for men to turn their eyes away from that lesson and pre-occupy their minds with critical attempts which, however high their abilities and their aspirations, practically ignore facts, and help them and their readers to forget that condition of things bequeathed to them by the men of the 16th century, who assuredly did not hold "Church principles"—a condition which the far nobler men of the 17th century were unable to redress. Those critical attempts, even



assuming that they should reach some important truths, cannot but mix them up with many errors, and thus may too probably but lead their followers "farther to fare worse." England is summoned to a larger task than that of supplementing, though in a better spirit, the attempt of German Individualism to sit in judgment on the Bible. She has to sit in judgment on the very "fast" Theology of the great Ecclesiastical Revolution, and to compare its promises with its results; to ascertain whether National Independence was indeed, as Statesmen then first asserted, inconsistent with the Spiritual Unity of Christ's Kingdom, and whether a reverence for Holy Scripture was, as zealots assumed, incompatible with a belief that a Divine Interpreter had been provided for a Divine Book. When England has maturely considered these questions, availing herself of the new lights cast upon them by modern discoveries, and substituting for the "Traditions of Men" the Universal Tradition of the Faith, her Theologians will advance with a stronger tread and a clearer eye towards the solution of the great "Problem of the 19th Century."

AUBREY DE VERE.

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## PROBABILITY AND FAITH.

THE death of Dr. Harvey Goodwin, Bishop of Carlisle, is a real loss. He was a man who had that rare possession, judicial mind. His thought was usually clear, and his writings were therefore useful not only to his co-religionists of the Church of England, but to others also. What he wrote in defence of revelation had this special value, that it was written by a man who was familiar with the tone of thought of those for whom he wrote: and naturally that was work done really in behalf of the Catholic Church. Whoever defends revelation is in truth labouring to hasten the day when the great cleavage shall take place between the two classes which practically now embrace all civilized men, and into which at no very distant period all civilised men will practically be divided. The time cannot be very far off when all believers in revelation will be Catholics, and against them will be arrayed all who reject a supernatural religion, whether or not they acknowledge the existence of God. The most important of all work nowadays is the defence of revelation, and clear-headed, thoughtful men of Dr. Goodwin's calibre, though in Dr. Goodwin's position, have a very useful function when thus occupied. Even when the late Bishop of Carlisle was in the long, what he said had its utility, as with his clear thought and language the point at issue was made more distinct. It is difficult to feel that such men would not agree with us if they only understood us. Cardinal Newman, with his usual keen insight, said that if our terms were but properly defined and understood, all men would either agree with us or show themselves irreconcilably separated from us by a difference of principles.

With this impression of the value of Bishop Goodwin's writings, we turned with interest to a posthumous article of his, published in the *Contemporary Review* for January of the present year, and we are sorry to say that on the whole we are disappointed. The subject handled by him is "Probability and Faith," and he was induced to write it by the attack made by Dr. Abbott on Cardinal Newman. He has not taken either

side in this controversy, if we may call it so, between the living and the illustrious dead; but after some interesting remarks on the characteristics of the late Cardinal's preaching in the old Oxford days, he gives the reason why he himself was unmoved and uninfluenced by that preaching so as to feel bound to follow the preacher; and to this reason we will immediately return. He then does good service by distinguishing the meanings of the word "probability," and he concludes by passing from probability to faith in a way that we deeply regret should be the last utterance of such a man on such a subject.

The description by Dr. Goodwin of Cardinal Newman's Oxford preaching we must give in his own words:

I am one of those—not so many of them now—who have heard Newman preach in his own pulpit of St. Mary's, Oxford, and who can bear testimony to the marvellous effect of his preaching and the marvellous manner in which it was produced. Those who never heard him can scarcely believe—so at least I have found—that pulpit eloquence could be supported upon such a foundation: the unvarying note, the absolute immobility of face and limb, the close of a long sentence to be followed by another apparently separated from the preceding one by a sharp fracture. All this does not look much like a true basis for pulpit eloquence, and in a certain sense it was not eloquence; nevertheless, in a very real and deep sense it was so; it was like a message from another world, or like an utterance of a primitive saint or martyr permitted to revisit the world of living men.

Dr. Goodwin proceeds to speak of a sermon that he heard Mr. Newman preach, the sixth sermon of the sixth volume of his *Parochial Sermons*, the title of it being "The Incarnate Son: a sufferer and a sacrifice." "It is," he adds, "in his best style; but those who read it as printed, and who never heard Newman preach, can have no conception of the sublime, awful solemnity which was imparted to it as a living utterance by his unearthly manner of delivery." This is his personal appreciation of Cardinal Newman as a preacher in his Oxford days, but Bishop Goodwin qualifies it all by the sweeping condemnation: "I never found his utterances capable of carrying conviction to my mind." To take the instance of the sermon already mentioned, the Bishop gives the reason why it, to him, at least, brought no conviction. "That remarkable sermon, of which I have already spoken as having

en heard by myself at Oxford, and which anyone can read for himself, appeared to me then, and appears still, to depend on its power upon a pervading fallacy."

A fallacy is what Bishop Goodwin finds pervading the sermon, and this is his reason for not being convinced by it: heresy in Bishop Goodwin's mind when he was listening to the sermon, and still in his mind, when after so many years he wrote this criticism upon it, he himself shows to have been the real reason why it did not convince him. "The fallacy is this," he says, "that in virtue of our Lord's divinity, we may rightly substitute the phrase *Almighty God* for the phrase *Jesus Christ* wherever our Lord's doings or sufferings are made the subject of narration or discussion; a process which opens up an immeasurable field for solemn rhetoric, but is likely to bring us within measurable distance of patri-passianism."

"Patri-passianism," quoth the Bishop. To say that "Almighty God died upon the Cross" means, or is "within measurable distance" of meaning, that "God the Father died upon the Cross."

If so, S. Peter was a Patri-passian, or not far from it, when he said to the Jews, "The Author of life you killed," for the author of life is Almighty God alone. And S. Paul also was a Patri-passian, or narrowly missed being one, when he told the Corinthians that "if the princes of this world had known they would never have crucified the Lord of glory," for the Lord of glory is Almighty God.\* Cardinal Newman was in a more measurable distance of Patri-passianism than the apostles were.

The Athanasian Creed says, "Equal to the Father according to His divinity, less than the Father according to His humanity; who, though He be God and Man, it is not two, but one Christ." The Son, who in His human nature died upon the Cross, is God. He has no human personality. The Person who died upon the Cross is a divine Person, though in His divinity He did not suffer, but in His humanity. Thus, according to the Catholic faith, "in virtue of our Lord's divinity, we may rightly substitute the phrase *Almighty God* for the phrase *Jesus Christ* wherever

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\* Acts iii., 15; 1 Cor. ii., 8.



our Lord's doings or sufferings are made the subject of narration or discussion;" and this Bishop Goodwin calls a fallacy. What would the Fathers of the Council of Ephesus have said to him? He would have been "within measurable distance" of condemnation with Nestorius. It is the Catholic doctrine that Mary is the Mother of God, which he calls a fallacy; and he can only so say because, with Nestorius, he must hold that there are two Persons in Jesus Christ. If, as the Church teaches, there is but one Person while there are two Natures in Jesus Christ, then Mary is the Mother of God, and God was crucified for us; that is, the Divine Person was born and died in His human nature. Thus, unhappily, it is made intelligible enough to us, from Dr. Goodwin's own description, how he should say that "the result upon my mind in listening to the sermon was consequently as far from conviction as possible." All sermons take something for granted. What Newman's Oxford sermon took for granted was the Catholic faith in the Incarnation as defined at Ephesus. To a Nestorian it would bring no conviction, and therefore, alas! it brought none to Bishop Goodwin.

Now, unfortunately, that which is here surprising, is not so much that Bishop Harvey Goodwin should practically avow himself a Nestorian, for it is not uncommon to find members of the Church in which he was a distinguished Bishop, speaking in terms precisely identical with those used by the arch-heretic who was condemned at Ephesus. "I do not call Mary the Mother of God: I say that she was the Mother of Christ." It would come quite natural to Anglicans without number so to express themselves; and they of course with Bishop Goodwin would refuse to say that God died upon the Cross. In their fear of what the Bishop calls "Patri-passianism," they would think that to say that God died on the Cross meant that the Divine Nature suffered death and was crucified; not having been taught, nor having taught themselves, that He who suffered was a Divine Person, having two natures, in one and not in the other of which He suffered.

If it were not so, where would be the Redemption? The infinite value of the Oblation made upon the Cross comes from the Divinity of the Person, who in His human nature suffered for us. The very doctrine that Mr.

Newman preached, and that Bishop Goodwin calls a fallacy, necessary in order that we may be redeemed by the Precious Blood. If it is not the Blood of God, it could not have redeemed us, and Nestorianism undermined the Redemption of our race by bringing down the value of the offering made in our behalf to that which was finite. Familiarity with the extraordinarily undogmatic character of the Anglican mind takes away all surprise when we find even a bishop propounding heresy that is really destructive of the cardinal tenet of his own religion.

But it does cause us profound surprise that Bishop Harvey Goodwin should not have known that the doctrine that he calls a fallacy was in truth the doctrine defined in the Council of Ephesus, and that its contradictory was then condemned as Nestorianism. He might have said that he preferred the Nestorian doctrine to the Catholic. He might have taught that Nestorianism was Gospel truth, and that the Council of Ephesus erred in its condemnation. At any rate, so to have spoken would have been consistent. But it is wonderful that such a man should not have recognized Nestorianism when he put his own view of the Incarnation into words. It is strange that he did not see that, rightly or wrongly, Newman was teaching what the Council of Ephesus taught. It is all the more curious because Dr. Goodwin evidently wishes to keep clear of ancient heresies which the Church has condemned. In his book on the Creed\* he uses respecting another revealed dogma, these sensible words :

One fears to express one's thoughts upon so solemn and difficult a subject, lest (as has not unfrequently happened) that which begins with apparently innocent speculation should develop into some ancient and condemned heresy.

Surely those who have had no education in dogmatic theology, and who have it not in their power to have recourse to the living voice of an *Ecclesia docens* of our own time, but who nevertheless believe in the teaching of the ancient Councils, and therefore dread incurring the anathema pronounced by them against an ancient heresy, should "fear to express their

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*The Foundations of the Creed.* By Harvey Goodwin, D.D., D.C.L., Lord Bishop of Carlisle. London: Murray. 1889. p. 268.

thoughts upon so solemn and difficult a subject." If Bishop Goodwin had uniformly followed the prudent advice given himself, he would not have called the teaching of Ephesus "a fallacy" in Mr. Newman's preaching. Yet it is strange that Dr. Goodwin should on such grounds have refused to follow the doctrine laid down in Newman's sermon. In his book of the Creed, he seems to express the orthodox doctrine. At the same events he says things that can only be true if the doctrine of Ephesus is true. For instance (p. 81):

This great doctrine of the Incarnation, running as it does through the whole of that part of the Creed which refers to the second Person in the Holy Trinity, belongs to the region of faith beyond almost any other.

And in a passage just preceding this (p. 79), he speaks in defence of the Council of Nicæa.

Some of these (different opinions concerning the sonship of Jesus Christ) might be more erroneous or more mischievous than others; but the view which commended itself to the great first general Council of the Church was this. That any opinion concerning Christ which diminished one iota from His consubstantial unity with the Father was false, and that any diminution was important and dangerous . . . Hence the Nicene Fathers did grand and important work for the Church, when they fixed for all generation to come, the meaning of the phrase, *His only Son*.

Of the words of the Nicene Creed, "the only begotten Son of God, begotten of His Father before all worlds, God of God, Light of Light, very God of very God," the Bishop writes:—

It is a magnificent declaration; we feel disposed, as we read it or repeat it, to believe that they who ventured in solemn conclave, representatives of the whole Church of Christ, to devise such language, must have had upon them some special inspiration of God (p. 77).

To a Catholic the infallibility of the Church, the promise of assistance of the Holy Ghost, and the Apostolic tradition and doctrine are abundantly sufficient to account for this magnificent declaration, without having recourse to any "special inspiration" like that of the authors of Holy Scripture. The Bishop, however, seems to accept thoroughly the doctrine of Nicæa. From that doctrine the definition of Ephesus follows inevitably, and yet one may search in vain even through the chapter written by Dr. Goodwin on the words of the Creed "born of the Virgin Mary;" without once meeting with the

ords "mother of God," or any other that are distinctly and mainly Anti-Nestorian.

Or is it possible that Dr. Goodwin's objection to Mr. Newman's sermon lay, not in his having said that "God suffered" but that it was "*Almighty* God who suffered"? His introduction of the word "Patri-passianism" might indicate that his complaint was, that what belongs to our Blessed Lord was attributed to God the Father. Can the Bishop mean that because the Creed speaks of the first person of the Blessed Trinity as "God the Father Almighty," that therefore our Lord cannot be called "God the Son Almighty?" If Jesus Christ is God, He is Almighty God. The Athanasian Creed says, "In the same manner the Father is Almighty, the Son Almighty, and the Holy Ghost Almighty, and yet there are not three Almighty but one Almighty." The use of the title "Almighty" in reference to God the Father no more excludes its use for each person of the Blessed Trinity, than the use of the title "Holy Ghost" for the third divine person would justify us in denying of each divine person that He is a Spirit, and a Holy Spirit.\* It is very likely possible that this was Bishop Goodwin's meaning, and that whilst he believed our Saviour to be God, he would not call him "Almighty God," and besides, felt so sure about it as to think that Newman of all men in the world, even in his Oxford days, meant God the Father when he spoke of God the Son as God Almighty. If he had but called Mary the mother of God there would have been no alternative but to have accepted this curious meaning, but as he has never spoken respecting Ephesus as he has spoken respecting Nicea, we are obliged to leave him between these two errors.

After this it is needless to insist that any doctrine laid down by Dr. Goodwin respecting faith is not likely to be by any possibility acceptable to a Catholic. This we shall see for ourselves when we come to consider his statement respecting the Article now under examination; but meanwhile we must advert to his remarks on probability, where we have lesser difficulties in accepting his explanations.

Dr. Goodwin begins by saying that "Newman speaks of Butler's doctrine, that probability is the guide of life." To this he objects that "the actual language of Butler is

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\* *The Foundation of the Creed.* (p. 255.)



'probability is the *very* guide of life;'" and the difference takes to be that the latter phrase does not stamp probability "with a unique character of adaptation to my needs." It leads the way to a qualification which no one will dispute. It is this. "Probability must be, and is in practice, cheerfully accepted as our guide *when certainty cannot be had.*" No one will deny that "a man who has the full use of his limbs does not need a stick;" or that "a man who knows his way does not need to look at a sign post, though he might consistently speak of sign posts as useful guides." It is assuredly true that "probability constantly comes into every man's calculations as to what it is best and wisest for him to do; but it is in cases in which certainty cannot be had." No one would or could possibly object to this as a necessary qualification, in order to give the true meaning of Butler's aphorism. If any one were to refuse thus to qualify the word "probability is the guide of life," it would only be because the phrase "moral certainty" did not please him, and in its place he preferred to speak of probability of such a high order that it is what is commonly called certainty.

Bishop Goodwin goes on to describe "probability" in its original, the popular, and the scientific sense of the word. The etymological and the popular senses are, curiously enough, directly opposed. While the word, "probable," by right, should mean "that which can be proved or demonstrated," the popular use reverses this, and employs the word for "that which is incapable of demonstration," though in its favour there are certain arguments, more or less strong. That is said to be probable, which is likely to be true, though no sufficient evidence is forthcoming for its acceptance as a demonstrated truth.

The Bishop gives the following example :

I come home from a walk in London and find my handkerchief not in my pocket. It is of course probable that the pocket was picked, but cannot be proved that this was actually so; it is conceivable that the handkerchief was dropped by accident; it may, on the other hand, perhaps be regarded as nearly certain that the case was one of theft: still if no one saw the theft committed and no evidence is forthcoming in the case except the loss of the handkerchief, it is clear that in saying it is probable that the handkerchief was stolen, we reverse the original meaning of the word *probable*, and use it to signify that the fact to which it is applied is incapable of demonstration, not that it is demonstrable.

The popular use is therefore that which is likely to be true, though no adequate proof is forthcoming that it really is true. Bishop, however, seems to imply that because a fact is "incapable of demonstration," it has no evidence whatever in its favour. If it be so, we can only say that it is not probable. For a statement to be probable there must be some reason or reasons for it, though they are insufficient to establish it as certainly true. In this sense only do we adopt Bishop Goodwin's phrase, "incapable of demonstration"—incapable, that is, of being established by the arguments producible under present circumstances. In the example adduced, the bishop says, "if no evidence is forthcoming in the case except" the fact that the handkerchief is lost. No evidence in the particular case, but there is general evidence that induces you to guess the loss of your handkerchief under the heading of pocket-snatching. Thefts of this sort are rife; you have read in the newspapers of the trial of pick-pockets; perhaps you have seen a placard where you were with *Gare aux filoux*; perhaps you remember that somewhere you were pressed in a crowd; you think when last you had it in your hand, and you remember it was whilst you were in the street, and you are sure that you replaced it safely in your pocket—in such a case you have a right to say that it is probable that it was stolen from you, but if there is absolutely no evidence for the story, it cannot be called probable. If it has no argument in its favour it is a mere guess, purely gratuitous and nothing more.

It would seem that Bishop Goodwin does mean by his "incapable of demonstration," that no evidence whatever is forthcoming, because he goes on, in this place to say that the probability of a thing being true is purely subjective. In this he goes too far, and ends by contradicting himself. To any one, *some* evidence would produce probability, full and complete evidence would bring certainty. It is true, no doubt, that "different minds have different estimates of probability;" but every mind must require some evidence to produce probability, though all do not accept that evidence in the same way. It depends on the previous training of the mind and the acquisition of the judicial function, in order that the evidence may be duly weighed and its consequences be ascertained.

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appreciated; but the results of evidence must also depend on principles previously established. "Some persons accept marvellous tales without effort; upon others they make no impression." True; but then the principles acquired in previous experience and thought are a part of the evidence. The man who holds with Cardinal Newman, that Christian miracles are antecedently probable, approaches the consideration of the miracles of Lourdes in a very different spirit from Gibbon, or from Cardinal Newman's last opponent Dr. Abbott. But we are not to call this purely subjective. The man who excludes the possibility of a miracle shuts out from his mind a most important portion of the evidence on which a particular miracle rests. Surely it is evidence, and most important evidence too in favour of Lourdes, that our Lord should have said: "These signs shall follow them that believe."

The terms of the following example, as given by the Bishop, seem to need correction. It is that of a judge and jury; and after saying that "education, temperament, experience and the like produce enormous differences in the estimates which different men make of probability;" he continues:

I suppose that the task performed by a judge in summing up a case to a jury consists very much in putting the evidence—conflicting evidence, it may be—in such a manner before simple untrained minds, as to enable them to estimate aright the probabilities of the case. In most cases that come before a judge and jury, demonstration is impossible; what the judge can do is to clear the case of any false gloss put upon evidence by advocates on either side; to point out what has been proved and what has not been proved; and it may then be taken as tolerably sure that an unanimous conclusion of twelve simple, honest, unprejudiced men will be a true verdict.

Now, if in this passage by "demonstration" Bishop Goodwin meant a proof like that of a proposition in Euclid, such a proof is certainly not to be expected. But he truly says that it is for the judge to point out to the jury "what has been proved and what has not been proved." Now what has been proved or demonstrated may be "probable" in the etymological sense of the word, but it cannot be called simply probable in the popular use of the term. The jury, if there be a doubt, are to give the prisoner the benefit of the doubt; or if it be a civil action, the *onus probandi* is on one party, who fails if he does not establish his claim. The verdict therefore

ought to exclude a grave prudent doubt. Perhaps the Bishop in this paragraph is not exemplifying probability, but rather the inability of simple untrained minds, unaided by the impartial and highly experienced skill of the judge, to deliver "a true verdict,"—a *verdictum* or statement of where the truth lies. This indeed must be his meaning, as elsewhere he says that "the verdict of guilty is given because the evidence leaves practically no doubt upon the minds of the judge and jury that the charge against the prisoner is true; . . . and if the case should be one in which figures were possible, and an expert could prove that it was ninety-nine to one against the prisoner, I imagine that the judge would direct the jury to give the prisoner the benefit of the doubt."

The scientific sense of "probability" is well handled by Bishop Goodwin, but it does not much concern us here. It is the mathematical meaning of the word, which in any problem should be capable of exact calculation. What is the chance that on a given occasion things that must happen in a limited number of ways will happen in one of those ways? It is easy to calculate the chance of a particular card being dealt, or a particular side of a die turning up. If the number of times in which the event occurs is sufficiently large, the chance so calculated will come true of every one of the cards and of each face of the die. So, too, statistics, if properly compiled from a sufficiently large number of instances, will give the probable duration of life or the probable occurrence of fires or other accidents, so that insurance can be effected or pensions bought on scientific principles. In this scientific sense we commonly speak of the probable duration of human life. But, says the Bishop, if the word probability is used in its popular and not in its scientific sense, numbers should not be used, for numbers are necessarily scientific. Thus it is right to say that it is probable or likely that a manuscript is of the fourth century. But it is misleading and foolish to say that it is five to one that it was written at that time, unless some special ground is alleged for these odds.

"In moral questions, whether of criminal accusation or of religious truth, the popular meaning of probability, rather than the scientific one, is that which must guide our judgment." So Bishop Goodwin rightly says; and we may add that the



scientific aspect of the subject seems to have been introduced by him only in order to castigate a passage in one of the Oxford Tracts, in which Newman said that we cannot be Christians "if we do not go by evidence, in which there are (so to say) *three* chances for revelation and only *two* against." In a later edition Newman substituted "*a dozen* for *three*," which change Dr. Abbott characterises as reckless. A later change was more emphatic still, for the passage was made to run at last, "*a score* of reasons for, to *one or two* against." The fact is clear that the author has had some trouble in correcting what he had written at Oxford. But it is plain that he never had the mathematical doctrine of chances in his mind, and that the odds were a mere figure of speech—neither happy nor accurate. The truth of Christianity rests on a moral certainty, not even on a chance like twenty to one. The Bishop himself, in the article under discussion, has used a similar phrase: "If by 'a probable God' it is intended to express that it is ten to one, or what not, that God exists." This is but a popular way of using terms properly scientific, and he might have been contented to class Newman's saying with Butler's "even chance," and have accounted them both mere popular phrases. Dr. Abbott should have seen that they might, precisely for that reason, be changed without recklessness.

We will now proceed to consider probability, first of all, in its relation to the natural knowledge of the existence of God—probability, be it remembered, in its popular sense of what is likely to be true, or in favour of which reasons are produced. We have already refused to accept Bishop Goodwin's definition. "The word *probable* or *probability*," he says, "as popularly used, may be said to express that, to the mind of a certain person or the minds of certain persons, a certain thing is regarded as likely to be true, without reference to the grounds on which the conclusion is based or the degree of confidence with which the thing is believed." This is purely subjective, and expressly excludes "the grounds on which the conclusion is based." Surely, if one person in a discussion should put before the other a relevant fact, the answer would be, in the popular sense of the word, "That makes it more probable." If reasons are excluded, one man could not tell another why he believed in anything as probable. It would be *Stat pro*

*ratione voluntas*, and that is equivalent to saying that truth, or even an approach to truth, is unattainable.

Curiously enough, Bishop Goodwin himself, before the close of his article, speaks, as we have said, of a probability that is objective. He says, as we shall see a little later on, that the chief doctrines of Christianity are intrinsically probable. He contrasts probability with faith, taking the latter word in his own Protestant sense of it, which is that it is purely subjective. "So to have faith," he says, "the probability must be assumed, the evidence must be taken for granted; the moment you begin to talk about logical cogency, arguments and probabilities must come to the front." And, again, of various doctrines that he names, he asks, "Are they probable in the highest degree? Are they of a kind to justify a man who believes them in recommending them to others on the ground of reason and calm judgment?" This is objective probability; and the Bishop plainly says, "Faith is subjective; argument and probability—which is of the same nature as argument—are objective." The probability here spoken of is certainly not the etymological, nor the scientific: it is the popular, of which the Bishop has declared that he regards "the popular, not the scientific, meaning to be that which in ordinary life is generally applicable," and when he speaks of probability as applicable to religious doctrine, he means the same. Yet this surely is in direct conflict with his statement, "The word *probable* or *probability*, as popularly used, may be said to express that, to the mind of a certain person or the minds of certain persons, a certain thing is regarded as likely to be true, without reference to the grounds on which the conclusion is based or the degree of confidence with which the theory is believed." Of probability in one place he says, "Different minds have different estimates of probability;" and in another place he distinguishes probability from faith precisely by this consideration, that to faith is to be attributed what he here assigns to probability. "Probability is a quality which attaches to an allegation, whether the mind accepts it or not. Faith depends upon temperament, education, previous experience, and other influences." In so thoughtful a man this contradiction, within the compass of the same article, is remarkable.

The Bishop goes on to say that the popular use of the word "probability" also excludes "the degree of confidence with which the thing is believed." If so, one thing cannot be more probable than another. Yet a little later the same writer truly says that probability "must admit of degrees. Probability may vary from the merest chance to something nearly approaching certainty." That is undoubtedly true; but why? It is because the reasons *pro* and *con* vary in force, and the probability is proportionately greater or less.

The importance of an accurate understanding of the sense of the word probability in its popular acceptation arises when it is in that sense we are to apply it to religion. That application begins with the use made of it by Bishop Butler:

Every reader of the *Analogy* knows that the force of the argument which Butler sums up in the assertion that "probability is the very guide of life" is to be found in the appeal which he makes to unbelievers to act in the high concerns of religion upon the principles which they adopt in common affairs. A man, with whom Butler conceives himself to be arguing, says, "I will not believe in the reality of a future life, and will make no preparation for it, unless you can prove to me in a manner not to be doubted or gainsaid that the future life is a reality." Butler replies, "This is not the principle upon which you act in common things. You act every day upon probable evidence. Human affairs would come to a deadlock if men would never consent to act upon anything short of actual proof." Everyone must feel the force of this argument.

From this at once arises the question, "How could a man pray to a *probable* God, or pray to God upon grounds of probability?" The Bishop well says that so to speak of probability "contrasts somewhat painfully with the language of Him who said, 'Come unto Me all ye that are weary and heavy laden, and I will give you rest.'" It certainly is suggestive of the well-known formula, suggested to an infidel as a prayer, "Oh, my God, if there be a God, save my soul, if I have a soul." Dr. Goodwin adds that if

there is an appreciable probability that there is no God at all, it would be difficult to enter into spiritual relations with such a doubtful Being by prayer or otherwise. In fact, if the claims of our God and heavenly Father were based upon such a claim as this:—"the chances are considerably in favour of His existence, therefore bend your knees in admiration\* on peril of incurring His displeasure"—I should quite expect that men of

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\* So it is printed, but clearly Bishop Goodwin wrote "adoration."

high feeling and well-balanced minds would honestly and solemnly refuse to have anything to do with this hypothetical God. But if by the phrase 'a probable God' is meant an infinite Being whose existence is not susceptible of a certain kind of demonstration, but at the same time does not seem to require it, the supposed difficulty in praying to Him may be said to vanish.

"Whose existence is not susceptible of a certain kind of demonstration!" That the existence of God is not proved with that kind of demonstration that men cannot, by the help of adverse wills, refuse to accept, is true enough. The fact that God exists is not like the fact that two and two make four. Men can bring themselves to doubt it and deny it. But the existence of God is not a mere probability. It is certain, so that the man who refuses to accept it is, to use St. Paul's word, "inexcusable."<sup>†</sup> That God, the beginning and end of all things, can be "certainly known from creation by the natural light of human reason," is defined by the Church in the Vatican Council. It is to be hoped that Bishop Goodwin meant this, for he puts it on the same footing as our knowledge that "truth is better than falsehood," or that "honesty is the best policy." But unhappily it looks as though he held that the existence of God could not be proved as a certain truth, for he adds, "an allegation may be true, yet it may be impossible in a certain sense to prove its truth; it may in fact need no proof; nevertheless it may be an utter mistake to describe it as only probable." It really seems as though the Bishop thought that if the proof does not enter that category which compels the assent of all men alike, it cannot deserve to be called a proof and therefore cannot produce a certainty, excluding all doubt and fear by the force of its reasons.

It is singular that a mind like Bishop Goodwin's should place the knowledge of the existence of God and the sense of the primary precepts of the natural law on the same footing. The consciousness of such elementary morality needs no argument; no proof, no use of the reasoning faculties are needed in order to arrive at the existence of such laws but only as to their application; but not so surely with the knowledge of the existence of God, "for the invisible things of Him, from the

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<sup>†</sup> Rom. i., 20.



creation of the world, are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made: His eternal power also and divinity, so that they are inexcusable." So, to repeat its words once more, the Vatican Council following St. Paul most closely, teaches that "God can be certainly known from created things by the natural light of human reason." The two kinds of truths have, however, this in common, that in neither case can there be invincible ignorance. Ignorance in both cases is culpable and inexcusable.

We now pass to the relation between probability and faith. And first, we are arrested in extreme surprise at Bishop Goodwin's interpretation of Cardinal Newman. He says:

It seems clear from Newman's own words that he adopted what I have ventured to call a misinterpretation of Butler's language, and that he regarded the change involved in the relinquishment of probability as the guide of life and the adoption of faith in its stead as one of first rate magnitude, and as supplying the key to much of his spiritual history; anyhow, it is undeniable that Newman has placed probability and faith in antithetic relation to each other.

Now this is not attributing to Newman the statement that faith brings with it certainty and probability does not. The Bishop himself says "it is true, no doubt, that in a certain sense, faith gets rid of probability." What this "certain sense" means, we shall see presently; but, we will attend first to Newman's faith, and afterwards to Goodwin's. The Bishop quotes these words from the Cardinal's *Apologia*, "Butler's doctrine that probability is the guide of life led me, at least under the teaching to which a few years later I was introduced, to the logical cogency of faith;" and he deduces from these words this incredible meaning. He repeats it thus:—

As I understand Cardinal Newman, he lived for a time upon what is described as Butler's doctrine that "probability is the guide of life," and that, finding this doctrine unsatisfactory, he discarded probability and took faith as his guide instead.

It is difficult to conceive how any one could "discard probability and take faith as his guide instead." In all matters in which he is so fortunate as to have the guidance of faith, he assuredly cannot help discarding probability; but so in like manner, when he has moral certainty from the light of

reason, he stands no longer in need of probabilities, and Dr. Goodwin has explicitly said so, and treated it as a discovery of his own, against Newman, who he thinks never saw it. But when there is no certainty—neither the supernatural certainty of faith, nor the natural certainty of reason—every man acts on probabilities, and it is in strict accordance with prudence that he should do so. To suppose that Newman ever found Butler's doctrine unsatisfactory, and therefore gave it up, is absurd.

But Bishop Goodwin relies on the Cardinal's words, "Butler's doctrine that probability is the guide of life led me to the logical cogency of Faith," and says:—

I am not sure that the phrase above quoted, "the logical cogency of Faith," is one which can be maintained as correct. You may speak of the logical cogency of an argument, but faith, in the very nature of things, is not argument. Faith is subjective; argument—and probability, which is of the same nature as argument—are objective. Faith is the action of the mind itself, accepting as true that which it thinks it has good reason to accept as true, though it cannot actually prove the same. Probability is a quality which attaches to an allegation, whether the mind accepts it or not. Faith depends upon temperament, education, previous experience, and other influences.

Whether Cardinal Newman is right or wrong in speaking of "the logical cogency of faith" depends on his definition of faith. The definition of faith given by the Vatican Council is, "a supernatural virtue, by which—God breathing into us His grace and helping us thereby—we believe the things revealed by Him to be true, not because of their intrinsic truth seen by the light of reason, but because of the authority of God Himself who reveals them, who can neither deceive nor be deceived." Is there no "logical cogency" in faith so defined? As there is "logical cogency" in the intrinsic truth of a doctrine seen by the light of reason, the cogency, that is to say of natural certainty; so there is "logical cogency" in the authority of God revealing who can neither deceive nor be deceived.

A definition is a real luxury in controversy. It is a luxury that we abundantly provide for our adversaries, but it is one with which we are rarely provided by them in return. The deepest and most penetrating subject of controversy between Catholics and Protestants is respecting "Faith," and it is the

subject that has been longest in controversy between us. But where are we to go for a Protestant definition of "Faith?" A Lutheran definition perhaps we might find. However false theologically it is intelligible. No Lutheran would be so absurd as to teach justification by faith alone, if he defined faith as we do—that it is "believing without doubting whatever God teaches." His word "Faith" means to him many things besides this; or rather his idea of "Faith" pre-supposes the acceptance of the Gospel somehow, and it consists of some hope and a great deal of presumption. The Lutheran would define it as "a seizing or taking hold of Christ." We are not now particularly concerned with the Lutheran definition, but what we want is something definite from an Anglican.

It happened to me many years ago, that my lot as a priest was cast in the same parish with a really learned Anglican Vicar, with whom I was on familiar terms. One day I took him by the button and led him into a window, and said to him when I had got him quite by himself, "Dr. So-and-so," he was a Doctor of Divinity, "I want you to answer me a very simple question. Would you kindly give me a definition of the word 'Faith'?" His answer to me was, "No man can answer that question." I said "Doctor, I do not ask you to prove anything or to defend anything, I only want to know what meaning you attach to a particular word when you use it. You must often mention 'Faith' in your conversation and in your sermons. What do you mean by it?" "I cannot tell you," was all that I could get him to say.

Certainly it is greatly to be wished that Dr. Goodwin had defined what he meant by the word "Faith," as he employs it in this Article, and in his book on *the Foundations of the Creed*. The Lutheran means "taking hold of Christ," but he does not mean taking hold of Christ's doctrine intellectually, and asserting to it as true. Does Dr. Goodwin? "Apprehending Christ's merits and taking for granted that they are attributed to me because I take it for granted" is Lutheranism. "Apprehending Christ's doctrines and taking it for granted that they are true for me because I take it for granted," may be conjecturally laid down as Dr. Goodwin's definition. "True for me" it seems to be, not true in itself, not absolutely true, but subjectively true.

"Faith depends upon temperament," says Bishop Goodwin, "upon education, previous experience, and other influences," and he recognizes no distinction between the faith with which we believe supernatural things and our faith in things purely natural. Divine Faith, according to the Catholic Church, depends on the grace of God, as it is a supernatural act of which man is incapable without supernatural help. Faith, according to Bishop Goodwin, is subjective. So is the exercise of this supernatural virtue in the individual soul, according to the Church; but inasmuch as there can be no such faith without a revelation, that revelation and all the truths contained in it are objective, and so is the authority on which revealed doctrine is accepted as true, that is the Divine veracity of God revealing. And yet it would seem as though, after all, Bishop Goodwin did not hold that faith was exclusively subjective, for he requires a probability in the doctrine accepted by faith, as we shall shortly see.

Cardinal Newman and Bishop Goodwin differed in their definition of faith, and it is strange that the Bishop should not have been at the pains to ascertain the Cardinal's sense of the word before finding fault with him. He says that

It seems strange that a thoughtful, religious man and a divine should be so long, as Newman seems to have been, in discovering the large share which belongs to faith in the conduct of the Christian life. Perhaps the explanation is to be found in the phrase "logical cogency of faith," a phrase concerning the correctness of which I have already ventured to express a doubt; but however this may be, I would lay stress on this point.

And then he proceeds to speak of his own idea of the office of faith, which we will examine immediately. But as to Cardinal Newman, the Bishop seems to have had some misgiving whether he understood the word in his sense, for he thinks that "perhaps the explanation is to be found in the phrase 'logical cogency of faith'"—a phrase that was in itself quite enough to show the Bishop that a man so careful in his use of words as Cardinal Newman not only "perhaps" but evidently had a meaning for "faith" different from the Bishop's. Dr. Goodwin thinks it strange "that a thoughtful, religious man and a divine should be so long in discovering" the value of faith, but this ceases entirely to be strange when we see



that what Newman was "so long in discovering" was that faith had a cogency in it. Faith, like Bishop Goodwin's, had no cogency at all. Such was at one time Newman's idea of faith. Butler's doctrine that probability is the guide of life led him later to the supernatural certainty of doctrines that rest on the veracity of God. But this was no relinquishment. Probabilities were still probable, and had to be acted on when nothing more certain could be had, but there was something incalculably more certain in the divine certainty of the revealed truths that make up the Catholic religion.

With Dr. Goodwin's notions of faith, he may well talk of the "extreme Lutheran views on the subject," which he declines to adopt. To a Catholic they are not "extreme views," but falsities and heresies. With a Lutheran, as with Bishop Goodwin, faith is a subjective taking for granted; and a Lutheran may go further than Dr. Goodwin in what he takes for granted. But the Lutheran does not go further than the Catholic, for he goes another way. What has the cogent force and necessity of having to believe without doubting whatever doctrine God teaches, to do with the Lutheran apprehension of Christ's merits as the sole personal means of salvation?

Now for Bishop Goodwin himself. "The office of faith," he says, "should be to throw life into that which already is perceived to be probable. Faith cannot float (so to speak) in the air; it must have some foundation on which to rest; and if it is to be anything different from fanaticism and enthusiasm, it must have some ground of probability on which to stand."

He goes on to say that

No doubt in a certain sense faith gets rid of probability. A matured faith enables a man to say, like St. Paul, "I know in whom I have believed;" and doubtless when a believer makes his prayer to God he does not think of Him as a probable God . . . but the probability must be assumed, the evidence must be taken for granted; the moment you begin to talk about logical cogency, arguments and probabilities must come to the front; as long as the sky is serene and the wind is filled with thoughts of love and devotion, so long faith may be content to forget the ground upon which she rests; but when the storm comes, whatever be the cause of the disturbance, it will have to be considered whether faith has a real ground upon which to rest secure, or whether it resolves itself into a dream.

So faith is all right in times of consolation, but when desolation comes Bishop Goodwin has no other advice to give

at "look to the probabilities!" The Catholic Church says, "Remember that God can neither deceive nor be deceived." Which is more likely to be "a real ground upon which to rest secure" when the rain falls and the floods come, and the winds blow and beat upon that house? Which of the two is most like to sand, and which to the rock? On which do you rest secure? "The Word of the Lord endureth for ever, and this is the Word which by the Gospel hath been preached unto you."\*

With Dr. Goodwin it is not even a question whether it is probable that God has made a revelation, which shall rest for its truth on the sure foundation of God's veracity. It is each doctrine in particular that must be examined into, and enough for us if to our reason it is found probable. But, it will be said, how can a mystery appear intrinsically probable? The Bishop enumerates doctrines with the least possible mention of the mysterious. "For, after all," he says, "the great question with regard to such doctrines as the being of God, the divine character of Jesus Christ, the reality of a life to come, must be whether they are probable or not. It may be admitted that such doctrines are incapable of demonstration in the strict sense of the word; but are they probable in the highest degree?" Of the first here mentioned, it will be answered that though it is not capable of mathematical proof, the being of God is not only "probable in the highest degree," but certain, so as to exclude a prudent doubt. God has revealed His existence to us, both by creation and by His Divine Word, so that besides being certainly true by reason, it is also an article of faith. *Credo in Deum*. It is true that the Bishop in his book on the Creed does not speak of the existence of God as a revealed truth. He says, truly enough (p. 38), that "belief in God must logically take precedence of all other religious belief. There can be no revelation unless we first recognise a revealer. . . . Faith, in the true sense of the word, has no field for its operations, until the reason has first assented to the fundamental proposition of a Supreme Existence." That God, whose existence we know by reason, has revealed that existence to us, so that we also believe on His veracity, Dr. Goodwin there does not say. But he

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\* I. St. Peter i., 25.

may be assumed to hold it, from the fact of his placing it among the doctrines which he declares to be probable to human reason, in order that man may accept them from God as a part of the divine revelation.

If in this instance the Bishop has said too little by treating the existence of God as probable only, when it is certain, by human reason, he has in his second instance said too much by declaring "the divine character of Jesus Christ" to be probable to reason independently of revelation.

The Bishop's words seem to be purposely vague. Does he mean the mystery of the Incarnation, or is it merely that the "character" of our Lord as depicted in the Gospels is God-like? The Incarnation may well be called a mystery, for it means that the Person of the Word, equal in all things to the Father and the Holy Ghost, whose divine nature is eternal, has taken to Himself our human nature from the Blessed Virgin Mary. Is that mystery *a priori* probable? It is hard to see how any one can say that it is probably true, independently of revelation. If it is not, can any one who holds Bishop Goodwin's principles really *believe* it? Then what is the meaning of his phrase, "in virtue of our Lord's divinity," which according to his theology makes it a fallacy to substitute "Almighty God" for "Jesus Christ"? Perhaps to the Bishop's mind Nestorianism was more probable than the Catholic doctrine, and if so, formed part of his "faith."

The phrase here employed by the Bishop "the divine character of Jesus Christ," is also employed by him in his treatise on the Creed (p. 68), and there, as we have seen, he has adopted the language of the Nicene Creed respecting the Divinity of our Blessed Lord. But does he there maintain that the doctrine is inherently probable? He says (p. 80) "while reason cannot fairly make objection, and cannot contradict, it may well confess that the Christian believer has mounted to a region whither it cannot find its way, much less act as a guide." But in his article the Bishop requires reason to "act as a guide." Before the "earnest man" believes, he must be able "to say, as many have said, 'I am as sure as I can be of anything which does not admit of actual demonstration that these things in very deed are true.'"

It can hardly be considered that the Bishop establishes the

inherent probability of the Incarnation in the singular paragraph in his book (p. 80) that follows the one above quoted. There is a side of the Incarnation, he says, "which may possibly be within touch of human reason . . . . Nay, it may even be said to be within the limits of intellectual and religious effort so to contemplate the doctrine, as ultimately to come to the conclusion that the Incarnation is something which might be known or at least suspected to be true on *a priori* grounds." As all the propositions in Euclid were axiomatic to Sir Isaac Newton, so "may it not be possible even to conceive of spiritual Newtons, princes in the spiritual world as he in the intellectual, to whom the Incarnation shall be as an axiom?"

If we have called it an excess to describe the doctrine of the Incarnation as inherently probable, it is needless to follow the author who thinks that to any one it can be "an axiom" or necessary truth. It is, indeed, a marvel to find a clear-headed man like Dr. Goodwin using the phrase, "known or at least suspected to be *a priori* true" as the equivalent of an "axiom," which is a thing that cannot and could not by any possibility be otherwise.

We may add that there are other instances in the book in which the Bishop gives up all *a priori* probability. For instance (p. 45), "the mystery of the relation of the Eternal Father to the co-eternal Son," of which "it may be sufficient to say that there can be no question as to what must be the nature of the foundation upon which belief in this mystery must rest. Reason is out of court, only Faith can be alleged." If reason is out of court, and *only* faith can be alleged for the doctrine, no one can say that it is in itself probable, independently of the authority of God's revelation.

If the mysteries of the Trinity and the Incarnation are not "great cardinal verities," what are? Yet Bishop Goodwin says:—

I confine my thoughts to great cardinal verities, and concerning them it is not in my judgment derogatory to their high character to conclude that they are probably true—in the proper sense of the phrase; and that they so commend themselves to the human soul that it is possible for an earnest man to say, as many have said, "I am as sure as I can be of anything which does not admit of actual demonstration that these things in every deed *are* true." The office of faith is, I apprehend, not to disparage



probability, but to change the mere otiose acceptance of a story or a doctrine as probably true, into a firm and perhaps ever-growing conviction that the story or doctrine contains the revealed truth of God.

In some of the words here used we seem to have got beyond probability into natural certainty. "I am as sure as I can be of anything which does not admit of actual demonstration that these things in very deed *are* true." If with the great cardinal doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation I have no *a priori* probability to help me, how can I be certain that they are true? The otiose acceptance of a story or doctrine as probably true, in this marvellous theory, comes first; and then faith changes it into a firm and perhaps ever-growing conviction that the story or doctrine contains the revealed truth of God. Make out for yourself that it is probably true, and then "faith" will tell you that it is revealed. According to this, it is revealed because you believe it; instead of being believed because it is revealed.

If the mysteries are not "probably true," they cannot be believed and therefore cannot be revealed. This seems to be Bishop Goodwin's theory of the relation between probability and faith. Faith, such as he has expounded and defended it, is entirely undeserving of the name. It is but the subjective assurance of one man that a given doctrine is true, while the subjective assurance of another man holds that its contradictory is true. However lamentable, it is intelligible that a Bishop of the Church of England should be satisfied with such a "faith." One man believes that baptismal regeneration is true, and another that it is false, and the Church of England shelters them both. How far the Church of England intends to carry her comprehensiveness is yet to be seen, but there are some of her members who are prepared to carry out their consistency to its extreme limits. In an article\* on "Liberal Theology in the Church" contained in the same number of the "Contemporary" in which Bishop Goodwin's "Probability and Faith" appears, a writer succeeds in carrying his Liberalism as far as it will go. It is interesting as a grave *reductio ad absurdum*, of which the writer is quite unconscious. It is interesting also as showing how the phrase

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\* The article is signed "Thomas Collins Snow." The "Contemporary Review," No. 313, January, 1892.

God reveals" can be employed. He asks himself what is to be done if a member of the Church of England should say that "there is no God or no future life." And he answers the question thus: "We will not exclude a man because he does not teach the truth,' or 'denies the faith;' we will only exclude him on the practical ground that his open co-operation would produce horror and not edification in the overwhelming majority of our members. We will not say, 'You must go because you believe so-and-so;' we will say, if it must be so, God reveals Himself to us under the form of God, and to you under the form of no God. We will not say that your view is false, for we believe that it is God's message to you; but we must say, that, at present and until we are more practised in the ways of testless theology, your inward harmony with us is obscured by your outward discord.'" Where is the inherent difference in principle between Bishop Goodwin and this writer?

And now, in conclusion, let us see how Bishop Goodwin's theory would practically work. We can imagine an intelligent artisan, who has hitherto denied revelation, coming to an Anglican clergyman for instruction. He tells his Rector that he firmly believes, and always has believed, in the existence of God by the light of reason, and that latterly he has felt more and more sure that God has made some revelation of Himself to man. "I do not want to discuss this with you, Sir," he says; "we will, if you please, take it for granted. But I do want to ask you how I am to know what those things are that God has revealed."

"Well," says the Rector, "fortunately I have just carefully read what has been written on this subject by a learned and very able Bishop, whom we have just lost. You may have heard of Dr. Harvey Goodwin, the late Bishop of Carlisle. I will answer you as I think he would have answered you. His process, he says, will hold good for at least 'the cardinal certainties' of the Christian religion. You take one of these certainties—let us say the doctrine of the Blessed Trinity, that there are Three Persons in One God, and you ask yourself whether it is probable."

"Probable?" says the enquiring artizan, "that is to say, I  
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am to start by asking myself whether it is likely to be true. You mean by the light of unaided reason, I suppose?"

"Certainly," is the Rector's reply. "We are not going to ask you to accept the doctrine as true because it is revealed. Before you are called upon to accept it as revealed, it must commend itself to you as probable."

Artizan. "I can say this, for I have thought a great deal about it, that there is nothing in the doctrine of the Blessed Trinity that is contrary to my reason. But you do not call that *probable*, do you?"

Rector. "No; a thing is not probable simply because you have nothing to say against it."

A. "Then how much must there be in its favour? I candidly confess that I can find no grounds of pure reason that would make me believe such a doctrine to be true, if it were unsupported by an authority that makes me assent to it. But I will think it over very carefully. Tell me, however, what degree of probability I must find in the doctrine itself; and when that is found, what I am to do next."

R. "I confess that I am a little puzzled to know what to tell you as to the needful degree of probability. Dr. Goodwin in one place says that you are to be 'as sure as you can be of anything which does not admit of actual demonstration that the doctrine in very deed is true.'"

A. "Do you expect me to be as certain as that respecting the Blessed Trinity by the light of my reason alone?"

R. "No, I cannot say I do; but fortunately Dr. Goodwin says in another place that 'it may be known or at least suspected to be true upon *a priori* grounds.'"

A. "Do you consider it the same thing to say that a thing is 'suspected to be true' and 'probably true'?"

R. "Well, no; but you must not expect irrefragable, indubitable proof."

A. "No, I do not certainly expect anything of the sort respecting the Blessed Trinity and other revealed doctrines, of which we could know nothing if they were not revealed. But you said that I must on examination find these doctrines probable before I could believe them; did you not?"

R. "Certainly I did ; Dr. Goodwin says that 'probability and faith have been joined together by God, and must not be in any way put asunder.'"

A. "If then I cannot find an intrinsic probability in such a doctrine as that there are Three Persons in One God, I cannot believe it?"

R. "No, you cannot. Dr. Goodwin is plain enough."

A. "But it will be enough if I suspect it to be true on *a priori* grounds?"

R. "Yes, I suppose so, for else I do not see how Dr. Goodwin believed in the Blessed Trinity himself."

A. "And then what is to be done that I may become a good Christian?"

R. "Now you will believe it."

A. "What do you mean by that? Am I to be more certain it is true than my reasons or suspicions made me?"

R. "Just so. 'A rational acceptance of the probable, accompanied or rather inspired by a divine element of faith, may be regarded as constituting the higher life of man, somewhat as body and soul combine to constitute humanity. Each needs the other, and it is when the two co-exist and co-operate without friction or interference that health and happiness result.'"

A. "I am not sure that I understand that. Probability and faith, you say, co-exist?"

R. "Yes. 'Faith must have some ground of probability upon which to stand.' The doctrine will not cease to be probable because you begin to believe it."

A. "When it is probable to my mind, I say to myself that it is very likely to be true, but not certain. When I believe it I am saying to myself that it is certainly true. Am I to be certain and not certain at the same time?"

R. "Yes, for you are uncertain on grounds of natural reason, and certain through faith."

A. "What makes the faith certain, when reason is uncertain?"

R. "That is of the nature of faith."

A. "What is faith?"



R. "I confess that Dr. Goodwin takes for granted that we know that already. If I am to answer you, I should say that faith is taking things for granted."

A. "Why am I to take anything for granted that is not clear to my reason?"

R. "Because you must have faith."

A. "Surely I must have some reason for assuming anything to be certainly true."

R. "Dr. Goodwin says that 'the office of faith should be to throw life into that which already is perceived to be probable.'"

A. "When I believe, am I certain or not certain?"

R. "Quite certain."

A. "Why?"

R. "Dr. Goodwin says, 'the probability must be assumed, the evidence must be taken for granted.'"

A. "Yes: but what has changed the probability of reason into the certainty of faith?"

R. "Nothing. They 'co-exist and co-operate,' you remember."

A. "They are partners, in fact, and faith contributes the certainty."

R. "Exactly."

A. "But where does it get it from?"

R. "It would not be faith unless it had it."

A. "And how is such faith as that justifiable? How can I make myself happy by calling that certain which is not certain?"

R. "I am not sure, after all, that Dr. Goodwin means us to be certain. He says, 'as long as the sky is serene and the mind is filled with thoughts of love and devotion, so long faith may be content to forget the ground upon which she rests; but when the storm comes, whatever be the cause of the disturbance, it will have to be considered whether faith has a real ground upon which to rest secure, or whether it resolves itself into a dream.'"

A. "And what is the ground on which it rests secure?"

R. "The probability of the doctrine."

A. "Then I never get beyond my uncertainty, after all."

R. "Well, yes you do, for Dr. Goodwin also says that 'the office of faith is not to disparage probability, but to change the

mere otiose acceptance of a story or a doctrine as probably true, into a firm and perhaps ever growing conviction that the story or doctrine contains the revealed truth of God."

A. "Do you understand how it becomes firm, when it was only probable before?"

R. "Oh, that must be in you. That is your personal contribution."

A. "You mean that I am to take doctrines that *seem to me likely* to be true, and to be so fond of them that I persuade myself that they *are* true?"

R. "Yes; you have now got hold of Dr. Goodwin's notion of Faith."

A. "Ah, well, sir, I am afraid I am not much nearer Christianity than when we began. I cannot make that a firm conviction, which my reason presents to me as only probable. I do not feel justified in doing anything of the kind. I do not see where I am to stop or where I should be led. And when the thoughts fade away of love and devotion, excited in me by beautiful doctrines, I should feel that I was not 'resting upon grounds which an honest mind can approve.' Those are Dr. Goodwin's words, are they not, sir? I suppose he thought he had such grounds, for he was a very honest man, but I cannot see them in what you have put before me."

R. "I see your difficulty."

A. "My difficulty! Why is it not your difficulty, too? By no possibility can I bring myself to say that, looked at in itself, the doctrine of the Blessed Trinity is so likely to be true, that I can, for the pleasure of believing it, accept it as true; even if you had succeeded in showing me that it was an honest thing to do. And the Incarnation depends on the truth of the Blessed Trinity. Dr. Goodwin has not made a Christian of me."

R. "Stay a bit, my good friend. We will put Dr. Goodwin away, for I must say I do not think he has helped us much. But I feel for you, and I must try to make a Christian of you. You would believe what God told you, if you were certain He said it, would you not?"

A. "Yes, that I would."

R. "Even though you could not understand it all, you would believe it all to be true?"

A. "Certainly. I would believe everything God told me, whether I could find reasons that made it probable or no. I would not believe what was against my reason, for I know that God could not say that. But if I were perfectly certain that God had said anything, I should be sure that it could not possibly be unreasonable."

R. "That is believing on authority. You can do that?"

A. "Yes, that I can; but, sir, if I do that I should become a Catholic. Believing on authority belongs to them, and to tell you the truth, sir, Dr. Goodwin has convinced me that I must go to the Catholic Church for Faith."

JOHN MORRIS, S.J.

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## CHARLES LANGDALE.

A Discourse preached in the Chapel of Houghton, at the Funeral of the Hon. Charles Langdale, S.J., December 9th, 1868, by Father Gallwey, S.J."

IN the second part of that discourse, which forms the heading of this article, Father Gallwey has the following sentences:—"They who saw him in his place in Parliament, winning by his fearless honesty respect for a cause abhorred by popular prejudice; they who sat by him in that committee-room, where patiently and wisely was planned and perfected, in spite of numberless difficulties, that organization which secures for our poor children an untainted education; they who stood by Mr. Langdale at the many public meetings in which he took his part, in order to promote some work of charity,—they have a story of his life to tell comparatively unknown to his own, who lived with him in private. Of that portion of his life I can, as I have already observed, say but very little, and only express the wish that we may soon know more." It is not far short of a quarter of a century since those words were spoken. No life of Charles Langdale has yet appeared; of his early manhood none remain to tell. There can be but very few indeed who remember with accuracy his Parliamentary days, which began in the year 1832, and terminated in 1841. It now remains for one who was born thirty-two years after Mr. Langdale, who, if he ever saw him in the House of Commons, never heard him speak there; but one who, as a young man, sat by him in the committee-room, and stood by him at many public meetings; it remains for the last survivor of the original Poor School Committee to supply in some measure information of that portion of Charles Langdale's life about which Father Gallwey hoped we should soon know more. But, as no life has been written, and all that has appeared in print (except some newspaper notices at the time of his death) is contained in the funeral discourse, it seems to be incumbent on one who is writing for the public about Charles Langdale, to put, as far as possible, his whole life



before the reader. This work, in a review, can be but little more than a sketch, so that English Catholics should still hope that some one may soon arise, to give them in a separate book, a complete biography of one, the memory of whom and whose example should be continually handed down. For he was one who having lived in the world during his youth and middle age, occupied in worldly affairs, and entering into the amusements of the world, never lost sight of the end for which God created him. If, during his early life he used earthly things freely, his conduct, as years passed by, showed clearly that he never was amongst the number of those whom the Old Testament so often speaks of as fools. Wisdom did not force itself upon him after any great shock in life ; it appears to have been gradually developed in him, showing itself in greater strength both in public and in private as time went on. When he was close upon that period of life when a man is commonly called 'elderly,' mere worldly occupations and amusements seemed to have no charm for him, and still full of vigour and spirit he devoted his remaining years to a noble Christian work : that work was to promote as far as he possibly could, in his sphere as a layman, the good education of the Catholic children of Great Britain. His fidelity, his prudence, his earnestness and energy during the whole of his public life, from about the time he entered Parliament until he retired in old age to prepare for death, placed him in that eminent position which made the preacher over his grave say, with truth, "During the last quarter of a century, whenever there has been a moment of special difficulty and danger, the Catholic body in this country, the bishops and the clergy, the nobility, the gentry and the poor, have with common instinct turned their eyes towards Mr. Langdale." The work which has chiefly made celebrated the name of Mr. Langdale, is that which he did upon the Poor School Committee. But he rendered many other signal services to the English Catholics, as we shall see later on. Not the least of those services was to show publicly how possible and how profitable it is for clergy and laity to work together in their different spheres towards the attainment of an end in which all Catholics are interested, and in which both secular and spiritual aids have to be employed. We shall see this finely illustrated in his

action on the Educational Committee of the Catholic Institute, and on the Poor School Committee. So excellent a model for laymen was Mr. Langdale in this respect, that were he a pattern in nothing else, his life should be written to put before those willing to learn a perfect example of the happy result which follows from a union between priests and people in active work for the benefit of religion. The life of Mr. Langdale is one of those which seem to be kept out of view by the same evil influence which is ever seeking to suppress the issue and limit the spread of good books.

Charles Stourton, better known as Charles Langdale, he having, as we shall presently see, assumed the latter name, was born in London on the 19th of September in the year of our Lord, 1787. He was the fourth son of Charles, 16th Baron Stourton. His mother was Mary, daughter of the last Lord Langdale, of Holme Hall, Yorkshire, and Draycott, Staffordshire. His eldest brother, William, became on the death of his father the 17th Baron Stourton. His second brother, Edward, having become possessed of the Hazlewood property by the will of his godfather and cousin, Sir Thomas Vavasour, took the name of his benefactor, was created a Baronet, and as Sir Edward Vavasour was, from his exceeding worth, for many years held in veneration by all who knew him. A third brother died in infancy, Charles Stourton's youngest brother, the fifth son of the 16th baron, was Mr. Philip Stourton, well and honourably known amongst the Catholics of England. Mr. Langdale's godfather was a nobleman universally respected, Bernard Edward, Duke of Norfolk.\* Very little is now known

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\* Mr. Langdale's eldest daughter, Mary, in a manuscript account of her father, from which we shall have frequently to quote, says: "I have often heard my father express his esteem and respect for his most excellent old godfather, who was so exemplary a Catholic. But as at that time it was deemed more prudent not to make much public display in Catholic affairs, and when my father was in Parliament, he had often to promote and be the originator of public meetings on such matters; the good old Duke did not think himself obliged to come so forward, and my father often used to laugh and say he knew he thought him *very rash and impetuous*, and that he had seen his old godfather put himself to serious inconvenience to avoid meeting him, fearing he would try to get him to preside at some such public manifestation." Mary Langdale became a Benedictine nun at St. Benedict's Priory, Colwich, in Staffordshire, where she died Sub-Prioress on the 1st of

of Mr. Langdale's boyhood. His old nurse used to say of him that he was "such a spirited and independent boy," and, as an instance of this, she told his children who used to visit her, that "one day when their father was about three or four years old, feeling a little tired at the end of his walk, he threw himself down on a bank and with a very consequential air said: 'Nurse, I am too tired to walk any further; so you must really go and send the carriage to take me home.'" This spirited independence was very remarkable in Mr. Langdale all through his life; although no one was more willing to listen to and to adopt the opinions of others when he had no very decided reason to stand by his own. When he was between eleven and twelve years old he was sent to Oscott, and remained there between five and six years, leaving the College in the year 1804.\* At that time all colleges and schools in England were under a system of management very different to that which is in vogue at the present time. A boy in a workhouse now is in a paradise of comfort compared to the state of a boy at school at the beginning of this century, when Mr. Langdale went to Oscott. The college had been established only four years; the President was Dr. Bew, and the Vice-President the Rev. Thomas Potts. This Mr. Potts was the Professor of the classics, and had the control of the birch-rod. He used that useful instrument of persuasion with extreme, and indeed blameable severity. Charles Stourton having bravely endured the austerities of the Midland College until he was seventeen years of age, bethought him that a milder discipline would suit him better for the remaining part of his education. Having, therefore, very effectually brought his father to the same way of thinking, he was sent to Stonyhurst in October 1804. How long he remained at Stonyhurst does not appear†. His recollections of Oscott were not pleasant. His ideas about St. Mary's seemed during his whole life to have

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April, 1875, esteemed and beloved in the community for her excellent judgment and great amiability. When any words and sentences are quoted in this article between inverted commas, without a marginal reference, they are taken from her manuscript.

\* He went to Oscott in January 1799, and left it in August 1804.

† The Oscott lists give the time of the departure of a boy as well as the time of his arrival; the Stonyhurst lists give only the time of arrival.

een dominated by his horror of the flogging system. It was always with pleasure that he spoke of Stonyhurst. When he left the latter College he was put under the care of "Dr. Everard, who was then residing at Ulverston, and received a limited number of young gentlemen to complete their education \*." The following passage from Miss Langdale's reminiscences is amusing and also interesting, as showing how different the state of things was in some respects compared with what it is at present.

"From what I have heard my Father say about his stay there, that is at Ulverston, I imagine they were left at considerable liberty as to their occupations, hunting and shooting, &c., their visits and engagements; but they always met at meals, and the good Doctor trained them by the strictest adherence to Lord Chesterfield's rules of etiquette, politeness, &c. My Father, certainly, ever after retained the habits which were there inculcated, and which seemed to coincide with his natural instincts of good breeding. I believe he remained two or three years at Ulverston; and he used sometimes to amuse us with anecdotes of his life there, and the sharp reprimands any awkwardness on the part of any of the pupils. It is strange on these days to think of this reverend gentleman himself taking his pupils into society, to parties, and even to balls, at which he would introduce them to partners, and might judge of their manners on such occasions."

When he left Dr. Everard's, Charles Stourton was sent to Edinburgh, "where he attended lectures at the University under the tutelage of Mr. Arthur Clifford, a Catholic gentleman with whom he resided." Miss Langdale gives the saying of another servant about her father, when he was a youth.

During his boyhood, she says, he and his brothers often visited Sir Thomas Vavasour, of Hazlewood Castle, and an old servant of the family used to entertain us sometimes by talking of "those Masters Stourton" in their young days. Whenever we asked about Charles (our Father), he invariably said in his Yorkshire dialect; "Oh, he was a sad lig-a-bed dog, there was no getting him up of a morn!" "I have often thought since," adds his daughter, "that no doubt this may have led him, in after life, to atone for it by the practice of early rising."

From what has been said above of Charles Stourton's education, it will be seen that he had plenty of it, and in

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\* This Dr. Everard was subsequently President of Maynooth and Coadjutor Bishop to the Archbishop of Cashel.



sufficient variety. He was amongst the first of those young men who were educated at the English Catholic Colleges which were established in England in consequence of the seizure of the Houses abroad during the French Revolution. Under all the circumstances, Oscott and Stonyhurst were not, as may be easily imagined, in that state of efficiency which they afterwards attained. Charles Stourton seems to have brought away from his places of education more than the average amount of learning and information. Amongst the many men who have been produced at our Catholic Colleges, and who have taken an earnest, intelligent, and useful interest in English Catholic affairs, certainly Charles Stourton is the most illustrious example.

His course of education being finished, Charles Stourton lived for some time at home, amusing himself with field sports and other country occupations, and going to London for the season. Towards the end of this period of his life, he met with his first love, a Protestant young lady. As his parents were very much opposed to the match, the courtship did not result in an engagement. To break off the affair Lord and Lady Stourton sent their son upon his travels through Europe. The account of his adventures is so pleasantly told by his daughter that we cannot do better than transcribe it.

During the years of his unmarried life, says Miss Langdale, he travelled as much as the troubled state of Europe would allow, chiefly in Italy, Spain and Portugal, sometimes alone, but more often with his old school friend Lord Shrewsbury, with whom he ever after retained a sincere friendship.\* He also travelled with Lord Clifford, and Dr. Short, of Edinburgh, who was later on appointed English physician to the first Napoleon in his captivity. He also travelled for some time in Italy with the late Sir James Graham, of Netherby; making their way north at considerable risk. At that time the only mode of travelling there was on horseback, and to avoid raising any unnecessary difficulties they only took one servant between them. There was always danger of travellers being taken prisoners as spies by the French; and the country, moreover, was much infested with brigands, robbers, &c. While on this expedition Sir James Graham was entrusted to carry some secret dispatches for the

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\* This Lord Shrewsbury was, at the time he travelled with Charles Stourton, Mr. John Talbot, his uncle from whom he inherited the title of Shrewsbury and the estates attached thereto being still alive. The two friends had been school-fellows at Stonyhurst. It may be interesting to know that a few days after Stourton went to Stonyhurst the celebrated orator Richard Lalor Sheil arrived at the College.

English Government, which made it safer for them to part company. My father spent some time in Naples with Lord Clifford, and they together attended one of the receptions of Murat, then King of Naples. He visited Sicily that he might see Mount Etna, after having visited Vesuvius. At that time Etna was on the eve of an eruption, or at least was in a very dangerous condition. However, with his wonted love of adventure, in spite of all remonstrances, he bribed one of the guides to take him down to the innermost crater, a feat which now people seldom risk even when the mountain is in its quietest state. When in Sicily he had a narrow escape with his life. One night he was awakened by a man grasping his throat, with a stiletto in the other hand, who said: "Your keys or your life!" My Father hesitated a moment, but feeling resistance impossible, he had no chance but to comply. The man then rifled his writing case and took what he could the quickest lay hold of, and dashed out of the window which was on the ground floor. As quickly as he could my father rushed after him, but pursuit was impossible. Once while sailing along the Mediterranean with Lord Shrewsbury they saw a privateer vessel bearing down upon them. The danger was great, and for some hours all were on the *qui vive* of defence, when to their surprise and relief the privateer changed its course, and they were free. He often dwelt with pleasure on the loveliness of that voyage, and on the beauties of the *mirage*, and the nights they spent on the Mediterranean. In Spain he spent a considerable time, going through Andalusia, visiting various places which were then in the occupation of the British Army, making his way into Portugal, and finally returned to England through France, where an Englishman at that time met with every kind of annoyance and insult, so that to the last he would speak with indignation of the treatment any Englishman had to encounter from every rank of the French people.\* It is indicative of the feeling this had aroused in him that, notwithstanding the slowness and the expense of travelling, and though he had but very lately got back to England, when the news of the battle of Waterloo—which put a final termination to French superiority—arrived, he travelled night and day back to Paris that he might have the satisfaction of beholding the allied powers in possession of that capital. I should not omit that, while in Italy, he with one or two friends visited the Emperor Napoleon in Elba. As they wore the uniforms of their respective yeomanry regiments, the Emperor questioned them very closely as to the numerical strength of their different corps. Our travellers had probably never thought of the subject before, for certain it is that they greatly overstated their numbers, to the amazement and wonder of their imperial interrogator!

Mr. Langdale's association in his travels with Sir James Graham proved very useful to him in after life. Sir James, besides possessing considerable intellectual power, was a man of the highest character and of distinguished honour. He was

\* This was towards the end of the year 1814, or the beginning of the year 1815.

a member of Lord Grey's ministry ; but was one of those who retired from it in 1834 when the celebrated "appropriation clause" was supported by a majority of their colleagues. He then became a follower of Sir Robert Peel, and was afterwards the most distinguished member of the party called the "Peelites." He, with Mr. Gladstone and the other Peelites, strenuously opposed the Ecclesiastical Tithes Bill in 1851. Mr. Langdale had a very high opinion of Sir James, and long after he (Mr. Langdale) retired from Parliament, he used to call upon his friend and expose to him the grievances of Catholics whenever any Catholic question was before the House.\* Having mentioned the good use in the Catholic cause which Mr. Langdale made of his friendship with Sir James Graham, we may also notice here how he turned to account his acquaintance with a very different man. This was Mr Thomas Duncombe, whom Mr. Justin Mc.Carthy calls "the Radical Alcibiades of Finsbury."† He represented that borough in the Radical interest, and was a well known man about town, being usually called "Tommy Duncombe." It would be very difficult to find two men who differed more widely in ideas and principles on, let us say faith and morals, than Langdale and Duncombe. It was an interesting and a pleasant sight to see these two sitting together on a sofa in the Reform Club, Mr. Langdale earnestly pouring into Mr. Duncombe's ear fact after fact to prove the necessity of including Catholics in the education grant, and cramming him for a speech in the House. When Charles Stourton had returned from his travels, he spent his time as he had previously done, chiefly between country sports and the gaities of the London season. Those who then knew Charles Stourton, "speak of him as the essence of refinement, most studied in his dress and appearance, and most fastidious in his taste as to things and persons." But with all this worldliness his principles of action were always sound and good. He seems also from the days of his youth to have had a chivalrous spirit in his heart. He could not resist "any tale of suffering or injury told him by some beggar woman;" and

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\* In 1853, when Mr. Langdale, from prudential motives, declined to call a public meeting to protest against one of Mr. Newdegate's attacks upon the Convents, he consoled some of the younger men who were for holding the meeting, by saying that he would "call upon Sir James Graham."

† *History of our own Times*, Vol. iv. p. 35. Edition of 1882.

would put himself "to great trouble and fatigue to help even ladies in the higher classes who might be in distress."

We now come to that period of Charles Stourton's life when he was thenceforward known by the name of Langdale. The principal reason which had brought him back from his travels, in the year 1815, was the death of Mr. Philip Langdale, of Houghton Hall, in Yorkshire, a cousin of his mother who, as we have already seen, was a daughter of the last Catholic Lord Langdale. Mr. Philip Langdale by his will devised the Houghton Hall property to Charles Stourton, who thereupon assumed the name of Langdale, by which name, endeared as it is to English Catholics by the good deeds of its possessor, Charles Stourton will be mentioned in the rest of this article.

His parents were now very anxious that he should marry and settle down at Houghton, and they urged him to do so. This however did not suit the inclinations and the determination of the son. Whether it was from his disappointment in love, or that the charm of foreign travel had influence over him, he made up his mind to keep his independence, and again to wander about on the continent of Europe. On the evening before he was to leave home, as he was going to start early the next day, he went to his father to take leave. Lord Stourton was at that time not very well, but his ailment had given no pause for anxiety. When his son came to him he again "spoke very seriously to him" on the subject of marriage and settling down to life in England. But he could not persuade the son; and Charles Langdale having asked and obtained his father's blessing, after a last farewell, left his father's room "full of buoyant spirits at the prospect of his early start the following morning." Man proposes, but God disposes. The travels of Charles Langdale in foreign lands, at any rate his travels as a bachelor, were at an end. Lord Stourton died suddenly during the night. It is supposed that the gout, to which he was subject, attacked some vital part without giving sufficient notice to enable him to rouse his valet, who was sleeping in an adjoining room. "This terrible shock," says Miss Langdale, "made a deep impression on my father, and he determined to give up his projected expedition, and remain with his mother



in England.\* The widowed Lady Stourton when she married the late lord, had brought into the Stourton family two estates, the Holme estate, in Yorkshire, and the Draycott estate in Staffordshire. She became entitled to these estates in consequence of being the survivor of three sisters, daughters of Lord Langdale. On the death of her husband she went to live at Holme Hall, which was only about seven miles distant from Houghton. Her son Charles took up his residence there with her. In the following January, however, 1817, Charles Langdale married his first wife, Charlotte, fifth daughter of Charles Lord Clifford.† Charles Langdale was happy in both his marriages. His first wife was extremely lively, clever, and pious, and fully appreciated the great qualities of her husband, who used, from the influence she had over him, to date his conversion from the time of this his first marriage. Shortly after his marriage, Charles Langdale took his wife to Houghton, and there their first child was born.‡ But this happy union was not destined to last long. Mrs. Langdale gave birth to a second child; but having shown symptoms of consumption, her husband took her into Devonshire, hoping that native air might restore her to health.§ She died at Exeter, on the 31st of March, 1819.

Miss Langdale in her "Recollections" speaks of her father's "reserved and cold exterior." He kept his reserve more or less all through life, but it was chiefly confined to matters closely connected with himself. His cold exterior was only on the surface; he could throw it off when he pleased. His disposition was naturally affectionate. When his wife (Charlotte Clifford) was dying, "his devotion" to her "was very great, rarely leaving her but for his meals, or for an occasional half hour when he took his walk under her window, that he might be within call if wanted." Speaking of his naturally warm nature, it may be well to mention here that when in after life

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\* Lord Stourton died at Allerton, on the 29th of April, in the year 1816.

† This lady was sister to Hugh Lord Clifford and Charles Thomas Clifford, both well known for the interest they took in Catholic affairs both before and after the Act of Emancipation.

‡ This was Mary Langdale, the Benedictine Nun, whose recollections of her father are so frequently quoted in this article

§ This second child was Charlotte, still living, the wife of Mr. Gandolfi Hornfold, of Blackmore Park, Worcestershire

he undertook the cause of the poor Catholic children of England, it was impossible to read what he wrote about them, and to hear him speak of them, without seeing that his heart, quite as much as his head, was thoroughly in the work.

"After the death of his wife," Mr. Langdale "returned to Houghton with his two poor little motherless infants, and he seems to have maintained the strictest seclusion, seeing no one but his mother, who was living at Holme." After some time Lady Stourton urged her son to marry again.

Accordingly, in 1821, Charles Langdale married his second wife, Mary, eldest daughter of Mr. Haggerston Constable Maxwell, of Everingham Park, Yorkshire. "This choice" says Miss Langdale—and the words are specially grateful as coming from a step-daughter—"was particularly pleasing to the family of his first wife, with whom she was ever a great favourite." If the pious, amiable, and affectionate disposition of his first wife won him to a more religious tone of mind, it is equally true that as time went on, and he became more engrossed in Catholic interests, which necessitated his frequent and prolonged absence from his wife and family, the generous, self-forgetting support of his second wife alone encouraged him, and urged him, as he often said, to stand firm amidst the disheartening opposition he met with, and which inclined him to throw up his busy occupations and lead a more domestic and country life.

After his marriage with Miss Maxwell, Mr. Langdale did not continue to live at Houghton. His brother, Sir Edwardavasour, had the misfortune to lose his wife. She died, leaving the widower with eight young children. Sir Edward then begged his mother to come and live with him at Hazlewood to take care of his children and manage his household. Lady Stourton consented, and left Holme Hall. As it was then supposed that Charles Langdale would be the future possessor of Holme, and as he very much preferred that home to Houghton, he took his young wife to live there. They resided at Holme for some years, when it was unexpectedly discovered that that home and property were not to be his. It happened in this way. It had been the original intention of Lord and Lady Stourton to continue the Langdale family in the person of their second son, the Honourable Edward

[*No. 4 of Fourth Series.*]

Stourton, and therefore to give him the Langdale estates of Holme and Draycott. Sir Thomas Vavasour, of Haslewood, having no children, and being a connection of the Stourton family,\* determined to make Edward Stourton his heir, and expressed this determination to Lord Stourton. In the year 1813 Edward Stourton married a Miss Lane Fox, daughter of James Lane Fox, of Bramham Park. In the marriage settlements the Langdale estate of Draycott was settled upon Edward Stourton. The Langdale estate of Holme was also settled in the same manner; but there was a proviso, commonly called a "shifting clause," by which, should Edward Stourton at any time afterwards become possessed of an estate of a certain specified income in Yorkshire, the Holme estate should revert to Lord Stourton, his heirs and assigns. By his will Lord Stourton devised the Holme estate to his third son, Charles, should the shifting clause come into operation. On the death of Sir Thomas Vavasour, Edward Stourton came in for a property worth considerably more than the specified income in the marriage settlement. But after some time it was discovered that the wording of the devise of Haslewood to Edward Stourton was such that the shifting clause in the settlement and in the will of Lord Stourton was of no avail, and that the Holme estate must go to Edward Stourton, who had then assumed the name of Vavasour. In consequence of this, Charles Langdale lost a considerable part of his income. There was no lawsuit, the parties having acted on the opinion of lawyers of the highest legal authority.

"Holme Hall was a very favourite spot with the whole family." Mr. Langdale was especially attached to it; and having been accustomed to consider it as his own, leaving Holme was a great wrench. "This regret," says his daughter, "must have been great, for to the end of his life he retained his affection for it." But Miss Langdale adds, "Happily this never marred the attachment of these very united brothers." When, after the decision that he must give up Holme, "he," says his daughter, "first met his eldest brother-in-law, Mr. William Constable Maxwell (afterwards Lord Herries), in the hunting field, and his only words were, 'Well, William, the

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\* He was a cousin of Lady Stourton.

lawyers say I must give up Holme,' the matter was no further or again alluded to; though, of course, the alteration in his projects and expectations must have been very great, as the Holme property, as it then was, was much handsomer and larger than the Houghton one." In many, perhaps in most families, one consequence of a shifting clause like that in the settlement of the Holme estate would, when brought into effect, have been to cause dissension and coldness, if not discord and a quarrel, amongst the members of a family. What are called "friendly suits" in chancery are proverbial for the perseverance and bitterness with which they are carried on. That this question between the Vavasours and the Langdales should never have caused the smallest diminution in the affection between the two brothers is a grand feature in the character of him who was the only one who had to suffer by the result.

"Having now no choice but to make Houghton his new home, his first step was to build a chapel, and until this was done he did not go" to reside there permanently. "So that he might truly have joined with Holy David in saying: 'He swore to the Lord, he vowed a vow to the God of Jacob. If I shall enter into the tabernacle of my house: if I shall go up into the bed wherein I lie: if I shall give sleep to my eyes, or slumber to my eye-lids, or rest to my temples: until I find out a place for the Lord, or tabernacle for the God of Jacob.' Much was thought at the time of this church, and how, in his sermon at the opening in February, 1829, the Rev. Mr. Martin, of Walsall, spoke of its being the first Catholic Church that had been built *not from* the house, but *attached* to it, since the Reformation, and appeared boldly as a Catholic Church.'\* And no doubt all Catholics will agree with the daughter when she adds to the above account: "I always think that this bold beginning, as it were, just, too, when my father must have felt the pecuniary loss of Holme, must have drawn down special blessings on the rest of his life." Mr. Langdale's life at Holme and at Houghton, previous to the passing of the Emancipation Act, was chiefly employed in looking after his property, in superintending his rising family, in social intercourse with his neighbours, and in

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At this part of her "Recollections" Miss Langdale has a query, "Was not Wardour built before this?"



field sports. He was a bold rider and a keen sportsman, both in hunting and shooting. On one occasion he had a bad fall in the hunting field which caused him to be taken home in a state of insensibility, which lasted for some time. In consequence of the penal laws, Mr. Langdale was not able at that time to take more than a private interest in county affairs. "The great act of emancipation," Miss Langdale writes, "at length opened out a new life and fresh interests for Catholics, and my father was not long in availing himself of it. He first stood and was elected for Beverley in 1832 on Reform principles." This was at the general election which returned the first Reformed Parliament. Before noticing Mr. Langdale's speeches and actions in Parliament, it will be well to mention his electioneering experiences, the result of which was that he retired from Parliament when the Catholics of England would have rejoiced to retain him as their chief representative in the House of Commons. And here we cannot do better than give his daughter's account of his contests at Beverley, and afterwards at Knaresborough.

The contest at Beverley was sharp, for his religion was an obstacle; but his well-known Reform and anti-slavery politics were, I believe, his chief cause of success. Possibly the proximity of Beverley to Hull helped him. For in the latter town the trading interests doubtless often brought people in contact with that most barbarous system (the slave trade), and the efforts and name of the great Mr. Wilberforce were still the pride and glory of Hull. Nothing could exceed my father's horror of bribery and the use of intoxication, which went on at elections then as now,\* in spite of all his endeavours to prevent it, the more so as, unfortunately, Beverley was one of the most corrupt boroughs in the kingdom. When Parliament was dissolved at the end of 1834 and in January, 1835, there was a fresh general election, my father retired, rather than again encounter the abuses which had occurred at his first election. Then one of his supporters was found dead on the roadside, supposed to have been from the effects of intoxication. Though my father had been most averse to the use of such means among his electors—and therefore he could be in no way the least responsible for the shocking occurrence—it made the greatest impression upon him, and he at once declared his determination never to stand again for Beverley unless there were no public-houses opened in his service. When he retired from the representation of this town, he gave this as his motive for declining the honour.

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\* These "Recollections" were written some time between the years 1868 and 1875.

Mr. Langdale's conduct in declining the representation of Beverley gained for him the title of the "Temperance Member." From the General Election in January, 1835, until the General Election in July, 1837,\* he remained out of Parliament, but he was constantly urged by the Catholic clergy to present himself again for election on the first opportunity. They knew the good that a man of his sound principles, determination, and talent, was capable of doing to the cause of the Church in England. In the interval between the two elections a deputation of several of the most influential people from Knaresborough waited upon Mr. Langdale, and it was arranged that he should stand for the Borough at the next election, but he made the condition that no public house should be engaged by his party for the purpose of canvassing. The General Election, as has been stated, took place in July, 1837, and Mr. Langdale was returned for Knaresborough. When the elections were over, he gave a dinner to his constituents and their wives, and a tea-drinking to the old women. It was always a good joke against him that "at the tea-drinking the old women contrived to put spirits into their tea, and many of them got tipsy." "The Anti-Catholic feeling at Knaresborough had been increasing, and without resorting to bribery, which Mr. Langdale positively refused to do, his return a second time for that Borough was most improbable." Therefore, at the General Election in 1841, he retired from Parliament. As an instance of what a Catholic candidate was objected to, on one occasion, "when he was making a speech at the hustings, a man put himself just opposite to him on a barrel, and kept making large signs of the Cross the whole time, hoping to put him out in his speech, and excite the audience." Mr. Langdale used to say that "the effect was not trying, more like the sails of a windmill going round than anything else." After this election he was chaired according to the custom in those days, and during the procession, "a large stone was thrown at him which narrowly missed his head, and would certainly have killed him had it hit him." On one occasion he considered it his duty to attend a ball at Beverley when he had only just

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\* The General Election in 1837 was the one which followed the accession of the Queen.

recovered from an attack of influenza, which he caught during the first visitation of that troublesome malady in London. He was still looking weak and ill, and he was much amused at hearing people whispering, as they looked at him, "We shall soon have another election."

As a member of Parliament he was very assiduous in his attendance at the House; he looked upon it as a solemn duty which he owed to his constituents. "This necessitated his absenting himself for many weeks at a time from his family." During the greater part of the time he was in Parliament communication with the North was not so easy nor so rapid as it became afterwards when the railroads were laid down. "He made it a matter of duty never to spare himself in any way, so as to be ever ready to promote in every way he could the good of Religion and the benefit of the country in general. He never absented himself from the House on the pretext of some other engagement; and during our seasons in London," says Miss Langdale, "we in vain tried to persuade him to accompany us to some party or other, if he thought that any motion was likely to require his presence and attendance at his post. He was indefatigable in sitting up till the debates were ended, even till the hours of early morning. Notwithstanding this he was always ready at nine or ten o'clock for mass the next morning. During Lent he fasted rigorously, until his health visibly suffered from these late and long hours, and he wished rather to resign his seat than be obliged to seek a dispensation. But he submitted his judgment on that to the opinion of those who had authority to advise him in the matter. It has often been said by Protestant members of Parliament of his time, that even those who were of opposite politics were glad when he was named to be on a committee, for they knew that he was sure to act and give his vote conscientiously. Indeed those few who are still alive\* who remember him in Parliament seem glad to seize any opportunity of expressing their deep respect for him, and bear testimony to the attention with which he was listened to. For all knew he never spoke unnecessarily, nor without weighing well the remarks he had to make. When referring to

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\* That is between 1868 and 1875.

public speaking he always said that unless people are great orators, the main object is to determine well beforehand what you wish to say, and then try to say it as plainly and as shortly as possible, without seeking effect. He frequently spoke of the usefulness of Parliamentary experience which accustomed men to having their opinions set at naught and ridiculed; and he considered that the habits of Parliament taught method, and gave knowledge in conducting business in public life. In any question having reference to religion, whether directly or indirectly, he consulted some ecclesiastical superior, frequently the Bishop of the diocese,\* anxious to avoid any divergence of opinion, and unwilling to trust to his own judgment in such matters." During the time that Mr. Langdale was in Parliament, the ecclesiastical authorities in London were Bishops Bramston and Griffiths. Those two vicars apostolic and Mr. Langdale were in perfect accordance in all matters which arose in the House of Commons affecting the Catholic Church. Throughout the whole of his career, as leader of the English Catholics, he never acted at variance with ecclesiastical authority, and the Bishops in succession were only too glad to make use of his services. This will appear more clearly when we come to see Mr. Langdale as Chairman of the Poor School Committee.

Mr. Langdale entered Parliament as a supporter of Earl Grey, who had just passed the Reform Bill of 1832. His principles had been those of the Reformers before he became a member of the House. He was a Whig, and considered himself as belonging to that party. But he was not one of those party men who invariably vote with their leader. When he had conscientiously made up his mind that those with whom he usually acted were in the wrong, he did not scruple to vote against them. In some matters his opinions inclined towards those of the Radicals, especially in matters of economy. He used to say of himself that he was "a Whig and something more." He always voted with Mr. Joseph Hume in the various motions which he continually made for the reduction of expenditure, and the cutting down of sinecures. On these occasions he constantly found himself in a minority of forty

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\* While Mr. Langdale was in Parliament the English Bishops were Vicars Apostolic.



or fifty, with a majority of two hundred on the other side. But that he was in politics sincerely attached to the Whig party would appear from this, that he often spoke of the courage it required when he did not go with the party into the lobby, and had to run the gauntlet of their remarks and their efforts to make him change his mind.

"While yet a member of Parliament," says his daughter, "Ireland was always a cause that roused his enthusiasm, and brought him into close friendship with O'Connell, who, at the public dinner given to my father on his retirement from Parliament, complimented and thanked him publicly for having always advocated the interests of Ireland. Whenever the great patriot happened to be alluded to in conversation in his presence, in a moment the colour would fly to my father's face while he spoke of him with admiration and also with veneration. Sometimes he used to recount for us the memorable speech of O'Connell in his own defence, when sneered at for being a duellist." On this occasion O'Connell made a magnificent avowal of his guilt: "This hand (as he raised it up) is red with blood."

Mr. Langdale had rendered such signal services to the Catholic cause that, when in the year 1841 it was seen that the Melbourne ministry was tottering to its fall, and that there must soon be a general election, it was determined by the Catholics of England to invite him to a public dinner as a testimony of gratitude. Mr. Langdale accepted the invitation, and the dinner took place in the Freemasons' Tavern on the 18th of May. The late Lord Camoys presided, and O'Connell, as just above mentioned, was present. The speeches, of course, were highly laudatory, and O'Connell very well described Mr. Langdale as "an admirable and indefatigable representative." A subscription was begun to defray the expenses of the re-election of Mr. Langdale for Knaresborough. His election could not be made sure without a considerable amount of bribery and treating. As the reader has seen, Mr. Langdale would not submit to such conditions, and consequently made up his mind to retire from Parliament. The money subscribed was returned to the subscribers. The *Tablet* of the 22nd May had some excellent and appropriate remarks on the work which Mr. Langdale had done in the House.

We will now give a sketch of Mr. Langdale's action in Parliament, and a short report of his speeches, which we take from Hansard. His first speech was delivered in the debate on the Address, on the 11th of February, 1833. He spoke on the construction of the Catholic Oath. He was induced to do so because one of the speakers, Dr. Lushington, had questioned the propriety of Catholics voting on church matters. He declared that he was not prevented by this oath from voting on the questions affecting the temporalities of the Irish Established Church. If the Oath limited him in this matter, it could extend to the other corporations. He would not sit in Parliament unless he were as free as other members. He declared himself a Catholic. This had not prejudiced his constituents, of whom, out of one thousand, only one was a Catholic. He also taunted his opponents with suggesting that dealing with the mere temporalities of the Church went to its own destruction, as they seemed to fear.

The interpretation of the words of the oath which was proposed upon Catholics by the Emancipation Act was a theme of constant discussion amongst Catholics. The words in question were as follows:—

I do swear that I will defend to the utmost of my power the settlement of property, within this realm, as established by the Laws: and I do hereby disclaim, disavow, and solemnly abjure any intention to subvert the present Church Establishment as settled by Law within this Realm: I do solemnly swear, that I never will exercise any privilege to which I am or may become entitled, to disturb or weaken the Protestant Religion or Protestant Government in the United Kingdom.

He maintained that a Catholic having taken the above oath could not vote on any question immediately relating to the Protestant Religion or the Protestant Establishment; others held that he could vote where the temporalities of the Church were concerned, but not where the religion itself was involved; a third party strenuously advocated the opinion—and they failed to say that they were backed by a dictum of Sir Robert Peel—that it was not the intention of the Legislature in imposing the Oath to fetter a Catholic who might take it, in any way whatever, and that he was as free as any other member to vote as he pleased on any question before the House. Mr. Langdale seems to have been of this opinion.

though there can be no doubt that he would not have voted on any question which merely touched Protestantism as a Religion. During his speech, Mr. Langdale very happily quoted the words of the Oath taken by cabinet ministers; the words were as follows: "I do swear never to exercise any privilege to which I am entitled in order to disturb or weaken the Protestant Government in the United Kingdom." He maintained that these words were quite as restrictive on dealings with the Church as anything contained in the Catholic Oath. The origin of the discussion of this question of the Catholic Oath in Parliament was the introduction of a Bill called "The Church Temporalities (Ireland) Bill," the object of which was to reduce and reform the Irish Church, and to appoint a commission to carry out those objects.

An Irish Coercion Bill was brought in this year (1833) by the Whig Government. Mr. Langdale opposed it, directing his remarks chiefly against that part of the measure which substituted Martial Law for the ordinary Courts of Justice. In March, 1834, Mr. Langdale spoke in favour of an enquiry by a Committee of the House as to the construction of the Catholic Oath, so far as it interfered with their voting on questions relating to the affairs of the Established Church. The occasion of this speech was a motion made by O'Connell for the appointment of a Select Committee to consider the Oaths then required to be taken by members of that House, and to consider the propriety of altering or abolishing those Oaths, and substituting other Oaths or Declarations in lieu thereof. The motion was not successful. In the early part of this year (1833) Lord John Russell brought in a Bill to allow Dissenters to marry in their own chapels. This Bill, however, did not bring any relief to Catholics; and Mr. Langdale, on the 11th of March, 1834, protested against Catholics being compelled to have recourse to ministers of the Established Church in the affair of marriage. He also presented a petition from the Catholic clergy of the Midland district against Lord John's Marriage Bill, and praying for relief from existing grievances. Later on in the year, Mr. Langdale brought in a Bill for the regulation of Roman Catholic marriages, and carried it to the third reading, having, in the course of the debates, been complimented by several members on the able

and successful manner in which he had conducted the Bill. On the question that the Bill be read a third time, Lord Althorpe, who was Home Minister and Leader of the House, rose, and urged Mr. Langdale to withdraw his Bill on the ground that the question of marriages by Dissenters generally was one requiring immediate attention; and declaring the intention of the Government to introduce at an early date a large measure regulating the marriages of Catholics and Dissenters. O'Connell and others having joined with Lord Althorpe in requesting Mr. Langdale to withdraw his Bill, he did so, expressing at the same time his reliance on the assurances given by the Home Secretary. Lord John's Bill passed the House of Commons, but was either rejected by the Lords or so altered that the Commons would no longer consider it.

The most important Act which was passed during the session of Parliament in the year 1834 was the "Poor Law Amendment Act." It made fundamental changes in the principles on which relief to the poor had been hitherto given, and established the "union workhouses." Mr. Langdale took advantage of the Bill to introduce a clause which he carried without opposition, giving to parents dying in workhouses the right to have their children brought up in such religion as they should direct. He was also successful in carrying through the House another amendment directing that no regulation or byelaw should compel inmates of workhouses to attend a religious service contrary to their convictions; and that the children of such parents should not be compelled to receive religious instruction different from that professed by their parents. This second amendment was struck out by the Lords, but was re-introduced when the Bill was sent back to the Commons, and was ultimately passed. These two amendments in the Poor Law Amendment Act were of the very first importance; and—all honour to the man who introduced them—they were the beginning and the foundation from which all subsequent favourable treatment of Catholics in workhouses has followed.

The new Parliament elected on the accession of the Queen met in the month of November, and Mr. Langdale took his seat as member for Knaresborough. On the 26th of February



he spoke on a motion to censure O'Connell for having charged members sitting on election committees with perjury, on the ground that they often gave their decisions according to party and contrary to evidence. Mr. Langdale was surprised at the sensitiveness of the Tories. He had to complain of charges against himself, made by opponents, like those of which they now complained. He should like to know, not how many members had charged perjury against opponents during late elections, but how few had not. Catholics had so long been accustomed to be taunted and maligned with every epithet most painful to the feelings of a gentleman (but they were still not so callous as to be indifferent to reproaches cast upon them), that he hoped if his opponents felt galled now they would themselves be more cautious in their aspersions for the future. He had much difficulty in accepting the decisions of committees as impartial. He remembered when quite a novice in the House being urged to vote (and this showed the spirit with which parties acted), for when he replied, "Are you aware that members are bound by Oath at the table of the House to give a verdict according to the evidence?" the reply he received was: "If such is your impression, you may as well absent yourself." He knew no distinction between members acting in committee and jurymen in a Court of Justice. Mr. Langdale then read an extract from *Fraser's Magazine*, where it was said: "Committees decided according to their political feeling, but it was folly to call this perjury." He would not use harsh words, but he would not say that this accusation was untrue. Mr. Langdale voted against the censure upon O'Connell, but was in a minority.

Mr. Langdale's character comes out well in the above speech. His words were dictated by sound Christian principle, and spoken with boldness and independence, without an expression which could reasonably offend.

On the question of the interpretation of the Oath taken by Catholics, the Bishop of Exeter (Dr. Phillpotts) attacked Mr. Langdale by name in the House of Lords. Mr. Langdale asked for and obtained leave in the House of Commons to make a personal explanation on the 2nd March, 1838. He hoped the courtesy of the House would allow him to make a personal explanation. He had been assailed by name in another place (the House of Lords) for the regard he paid or was supposed not to pay to

the solemn obligation of an Oath. In the speech in which he was censured it was asserted that the best criterion of the meaning and intention of the Oath was to be collected from the animus with which the promoters of the Catholic Relief Bill brought that measure forward. These sentiments he (Mr. Langdale) contended should be ascertained not from the views at present entertained by the noble lords and right honourable gentlemen who were concerned in passing that Bill, but from the intentions and sentiments that were expressed by them at the time. The first notice he had of any interpretation differing from this was as the speaker (the Bishop of Exeter) said, "that other better and more favourable notion formed by an honourable gentleman, as by courtesy he was styled, the brother of a noble lord—he meant the Hon. Mr. Langdale." For his (Mr. Langdale's) own part he was willing that the Oath should be interpreted according to one criterion, viz., the animus with which it was introduced. The right honourable baronet (Sir R. Peel), whom he was glad to see opposite, introduced the Bill with certain observations. He said that if the measure were to be adopted by Catholics, it would be in the sense in which he proposed it to the House. He had read from Hansard that part of the honourable baronet's speech, which specially referred to Catholics in Parliament. The honourable baronet used words which he (Mr. Langdale) would say that the Right Reverend Prelate must have been aware of before he spoke. The honourable baronet said: That an able and honourable member had, with a view to calm the fears and suspicions of those who objected to the admission of Roman Catholics to Parliament, proposed that the Roman Catholics should be disqualified from voting on matters relating directly or indirectly to the interests of the Established Church. "There appears to me," said Sir Robert, "numerous and cogent objections to this proposal. In the first place, it is dangerous to establish the precedent of limiting the discretion by which the duties and functions of a member of the House may be exercised. In the second place, it is difficult to define what are or are not the questions which affect the interests of the Church. Thirdly, by excluding a Roman Catholic from giving his individual vote you do little to diminish his real influence, of which you can't and don't propose to deprive him. For these reasons I am unwilling to deprive the Roman Catholic member of either House of any privilege of free discussion and free exercise of judgment which belongs to other members of the Legislature." Such was the language of the honourable baronet as minister of the Crown in introducing the great measure of Catholic Relief. He (Mr. Langdale) would ask, if such language were then for the first time heard in the House, whether he was not justified in taking the Oath with full power to exercise his own judgment as to its interpretation? It had even been a question whether Roman Catholics had a right to vote in the entire subversion of the Established Church, and even in this point he might quote the opinion of Sir Charles Wetherall (Attorney General), who, on this matter answered, "Do you mean to tell me that the Catholic would be acting against his Oath if he sanctioned such a measure?" The second accusation in which he (Mr. Langdale) had been named by the

Right Rev. Prelate was in these words: "There was another mode of construing the Oath imposed by the Catholic Relief Acts. It had been assimilated to the declaration on taking office of ministers, which was binding on all Protestants. This, he believed, was also a notion of Mr. Langdale, who referred to the Oath on taking office, where ministers declared they would not exercise their influence to weaken the Church." Now he (Mr. Langdale) certainly did state this, and he believed it to be a very statesman-like view to take.

The Dissenters had a grievance redressed the preceding year, and their declaration was in terms with the Catholic Oath, but went on to say "they would not disturb the Church or the Bishops, or Clergy thereof in the rights to which they may be entitled. Yet would they refuse Dissenters the right to vote on Irish Church matters? It had been pretended to distinguish between the Church in Ireland and in England, but it had always been argued that what injured the church in Ireland affected the church in England.

Great alterations had lately been made in the Church, the suppressions of fees had occurred, and the entire temporalities of the Church had been taken away. The Archbishop of Canterbury had himself sanctioned these measures, so, too, had the King; both solemnly swore "to uphold and maintain all such rights and privileges as do now appertain" to the Church—where then was the charge of perjury to end?

He would not use hard words, nor would he submit to be accused by name and not refute the charge. His name was as dear to him and those he represented as was the Right Reverend Pelate's. He deplored such charges, but coming from a person whose sacred character ought be a pattern of charity, he deemed it especially derogatory. He (Mr. Langdale) bore willing testimony to the high character and zeal of many of the right reverend prelates presiding over the Church. He might, and did differ with them conscientiously, but knowing some of them in private life, he found nothing in their character that did not command his respect. He blushed to find the Right Reverend Prelate raking up these charges. The Roman Catholics had for generations been excluded from Parliament through their respect for an Oath. The Right Reverend Prelate denied this, saying there were only certain Oaths a Catholic would refuse:—he dared not abjure his religion nor swear his disbelief in transubstantiation, but beyond this nothing would exclude him. The accusation made against him (Mr. Langdale) was in effect that he had been guilty of treachery, exaggerated by perjury, and he must say, considering the charge and the individual, he could designate it by no other title than as a falsehood, exaggerated by duplicity.

Moved, paper report be laid on table.—So done.\*

Mr. Langdale was always on the watch to secure the rights of the poor in the matter of freedom of worship. Accordingly

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\* This Report is from the *Morning Post*.

On the 20th of March, in the year 1838, he moved that it be an instruction to the Poor-Law Committee to ascertain what had been done in this matter, and what provision could be made to secure for the inmates of workhouses the exercise of their right to attend divine service according to their respective creeds. Lord John Russell, then Home Minister, assented to the spirit of the motion, and said he would put Mr. Langdale on the committee. Mr. Langdale then consented to withdraw his motion. On the first of May, 1838, there was a debate in the House of Commons on outrages on Protestants in Ireland, on a course of which Mr. Langdale said that when opponents accused Catholic priests of taking part in elections, they should reflect that Protestant ministers did the same; they were openly and avowedly partisans. Why, then, should not Catholic priests have the same liberty as other denominations? Several Catholics in his own borough had been turned out of their homes by Protestant ministers for their vote for him. He would instance something similar which had been done in London. The chaplain of the Middlesex House of Correction had recently stated to the Middlesex magistrates that he had taken away Roman Catholic prayer-books from prisoners of that persuasion and given them Protestant Bibles and Books of Common Prayer. In this speech, as in the speech on the 16th of February, Mr. Langdale adopted the tactics which are almost always effectual when used by Catholics against Protestants—which were used with great effect by Frederic Lucas both in writing and speaking, and which are not employed by us as often as they might be;—he was not content with simply defending his position, he carried the war into the enemies' country. The *tu quoque* argument, if it can be called an argument, may be often futile, but it is very often the most effective way of silencing an enemy. It seems to have the highest sanction, for our Lord used it against the Pharisees when they accused His disciples of eating with unwashed hands,\* and on other occasions.

Mr. Langdale let no opportunity pass of assisting and providing as far as he could for the equal rights of Catholics, especially of the poorer classes. In a Scotch Education Bill, he represented that in the Highlands and in the islands off

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\* Matt. xv. 3.



the west coast of Scotland Catholics were in a majority. In the Isle of Barra, for instance, there were 1300 Catholics and 150 Protestants. If the Bill progressed, he should move that in such places children should not be compelled to learn the catechism of the Church of Scotland. In the Prisons Regulation Bill, he called attention to the position of Catholics as to religious instruction. He believed one-third or one-fourth of the prisoners in London were Catholics; every aid should be given them by ministers of their own persuasion.

It was not uncommon at this time to hear from Catholics of the upper class, that there were in reality no grievances to complain of. The fact is that they were satisfied with the relief they had themselves received in the Act of 1829, and they thought further agitation was inexpedient, and indeed unnecessary. But Mr. Langdale constantly bore in mind the grievances which weighed heavily on the poorer Catholics, and his speeches in the House show clearly what those grievances were; that they were real and substantial. There is, even at the present time, some of that spirit amongst Catholics which makes them ignore the evils which they do not themselves suffer from.

In the debate on the address in February, 1839, Mr. Plumptre advocated, amongst other things, the dissemination of bibles amongst the Catholics of Ireland: upon which Mr. Langdale protested against the notion that the bible was a panacea for all the evils that afflicted unhappy Ireland, and he very happily turned the tables upon Mr. Plumptre by reminding him that no county had been more covered with bibles than the county of Kent, which Mr. Plumptre represented, and yet no county had so disgraced itself, and had shown itself so lacking in knowledge of spiritual matters, as recent events had proved.\* In the same session of Parliament a Factory Bill was introduced, and Mr. Langdale, ever on the watch to see that justice was done to the Catholic poor, expressed a hope that provision

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\* This observation of Mr. Langdale's applied to the great following which a semi-lunatic had, who pretended to be a second Messiah. Preparing to attack the city of Canterbury, police and soldiers were sent to arrest him. He shot dead a policeman and an officer of the line, and in return he and some of his dupes were themselves shot dead many of his admirers continuing to maintain that he would rise again. He had many names, but was usually called "Thom."

ould be made that children, if forced to attend school, should be educated in the principles of the religion of their parents. The Government agreed that the principle involved in what Mr. Langdale had said was a correct one. Twice during this session Mr. Langdale supported propositions for the payment of prison chaplains other than those of the established church ; and he insisted that priests being taken away from their work to attend prisoners in state prisons, the state ought to make some provision for their maintenance. So that Mr. Langdale began the fight, which ended, after many years, in powers being given to county magistrates to appoint and give a salary to Catholic Priests attending prisons.

In this year, 1839, on the proposition of Lord John Russell, the Education Grant which had hitherto been twenty thousand pounds, was increased to thirty thousand. This sum was not to be given, as hitherto, to the "National School Society," and the "British and Foreign School Association," to be applied as they pleased, but to a Committee of the Privy Council, to be distributed under certain regulations. This was the origin of the present Committee of Council on Education. Catholics were practically excluded from a share in the grant. Mr. Langdale spoke on the introduction of the Bill. He attacked Lord Mahon, who would give a share of the grant to all denominations except Catholics. He said there was no term of abuse, no imputation so infamous that had not been adopted in the petition sent up to the House in relation to the Bill : and that if Lord Mahon concurred with them he ought to seek to repeal the Emancipation Act. He said it was a breach of fair play to exclude Catholics, who, if they were not allowed to share in the grant, had in fact to pay a penalty for their religion. He asked if there was nothing due to Roman Catholics to compensate for the course adopted towards them in former years. During times of severe persecution, Catholics had raised money for the education of their children, and for the support of their religion. They had invested large sums in the funds of foreign states, which paid to the British Government under a solemn treaty, had been taken possession of under the plea of an almost obsolete enactment, and applied to the purposes of State. He did not wish to use any irritating

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language, but probably the application of that sum was not to any much more holy purpose than those "superstitious usages" under pretence of which the money had been seized. It would be said that money should not be applied for education in a religion which was wrong. But in the east they made similar grants, and in their western colonies and penal settlements they did the same thing.

There was great opposition, both in the House and in the country, to the increase, and it was only carried by a majority of two in a House of 548 Members.

In August, 1839, Mr. Langdale having by question in the House obtained from the Secretary of the State for War an admission that the children of Catholic soldiers were forced to attend regimental schools, and be educated in the religion of the Established Church, and that the rule compelling children educated in the Chelsea Asylum School to receive instruction in the doctrines of the Established Church would not be relaxed, said that he wished to move an address to Her Majesty for the admission of children of Catholic and Dissenting soldiers and sailors to the Asylum Schools of Chelsea, Greenwich, and Portsmouth, without obligatory attendance at religious instruction in the doctrine of the Established Church; also for leave to attend their own worship. Before, however, moving an address, he would ask if Government would undertake to grant such facilities. Lord John Russell said that Government would grant such facilities, whereupon Mr. Langdale postponed his motion.

The reader will here notice how, on an important matter, Mr. Langdale did not hesitate to put pressure on the leaders of his own party. It would be well if all Catholic members of Parliament would follow this excellent example. In the year 1840, Mr. Langdale again made an attempt to obtain for Catholics a share in the education grant, but did not succeed. He was successful, however, in inserting in the "Infant Felon's Bill" a clause ensuring that due respect should be paid to the religion of the parents of those children.

In the year 1841 Mr. Langdale would not allow the Poor Law Amendment Bill to go through the House without special provision for full liberty of worship to inmates of workhouses. He was astonished at the omission of any such provision. He

would vote for the Bill, but would introduce an amendment later on. All that he subsequently obtained was that the individual Catholic child should be allowed to declare his or her wish for instruction in his or her own religion.

In the debate on the Maynooth Grant this year (1841) Mr. Langdale, in consequence of some remarks from the Tory side of the House, maintained that the allegiance of Catholics was the same and as true as that of Protestants. Their spiritual allegiance to the Pope did not in any way interfere with their allegiance to the Sovereign. As to condemning heretics, the Catholic Church went no further than did the Protestant Church of England. He would condemn no individual, as "heresy was a wilful and knowing resistance of the truth." Anti-Protestant feeling was indeed too well founded in Ireland; for little real sympathy had been shown to the Irish. He was full of admiration for the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel for their action in bringing in and passing the Relief Act. If it had been fairly acted on the same good feeling would exist in Ireland as in the East Riding of Yorkshire, where all the Catholic gentry had been recognised and put on the Bench (as magistrates). They had been warmly received, and the best relations and good feeling existed.

We have thus put before the reader Mr. Langdale's action in Parliament as a Catholic representative: enough to show what a faithful and persevering advocate he was of all the just claims of Catholics. The loss of such a man in the House of Commons was intensely felt; from that time to this no such watchfulness and independent action has been shown by any Catholic member of Parliament.

Mr. Langdale spoke on many other subjects in the House besides those which chiefly affected Catholics. It may be interesting to know some of his opinions. He was opposed to the establishment of a permanent county police. He thought such an institution might create a sort of spy system. It would tend to make, if it could not readily find business to render necessary their continual existence and pay. He was strongly in favour of abolishing the system of impressments in the navy. He was opposed to Free Trade (1834) without further inquiry. He was, of course, opposed to divorce, and thought in such cases the offending party should not have access to the



children. He proved by his votes that he was a thorough Reformer. He was in favour of allowing Quakers to affirm instead of taking an oath on taking municipal office; and in some matters of minor interest he clearly showed that he hated oppression and every kind of abuse. He was not a Repealer. At that time there was only one English member of Parliament who could be found to vote for Repeal; but Mr. Langdale would not vote with his party in the year 1833 on the third reading of a Coercion Bill.

With the end of Mr. Langdale's Parliamentary career we must conclude this article. On a future occasion we hope to complete a review of his life, by putting before our readers his action in the Catholic Institute and the Poor-school Committee. Though what Mr. Langdale did in Parliament to improve the condition of Catholics was excellent work, and was the beginning of better times for the Catholic poor, yet his labours in the Catholic Institute and the Poor-school Committee, to provide for the good education of the Catholic children of Great Britain, are what will chiefly hand down his name to posterity as the great lay benefactor to the Church in England in those days.

What has been said in this article of Mr. Langdale's character and of his actions, though it has put neither one nor the other completely before the reader, has been enough to show his greatness. We have seen a man of strong principles, all of them good; of very independent character, firmly attached to his Church; a lover of his country, an affectionate son, a fond brother. We have seen him in action, governed by his exalted notions of what was just and honourable; and tried by the two severest tests to which one in his position could be subjected—the loss of wife and the loss of property. Out of these trials he came with force unweakened and with love for every one of his family as sound as ever. We have seen him in Parliament, most emphatically doing his duty, standing by his party, except when conscience otherwise dictated, gaining respect and esteem on both sides of the House, and making use of his position to get rid of some remnants of the penal laws, and to better the condition of his Catholic fellow-subjects. Throughout his career, as we have yet seen it, there was a persevering consistency of action, founded on sound principle,

which made everyone look up to him as a trusty supporter and defender of the right, wherever wrong was in the ascendant or attempting a usurpation. His absence from Parliament was lamented by Catholics. But his sterling qualities were reserved, under the good Providence of God, for other work, to the great and lasting advantage of the Church in this country.

WILLIAM J. AMHERST, S.J.

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## MR. LILLY'S BOOK ON POLITICS.

*Shibboleths.* By W. S. LILLY. London: Chapman and Hall,  
1892.

UNDER the title of "Shibboleths" Mr. Lilly has written a brilliant volume of essays on the first principles of politics. Taking seven catch-words in most common use, namely, Progress, Liberty, the People, Public Opinion, Education, Woman's Rights, and Demand and Supply, he is able, by turning a little light on these phrases, by examining what is their meaning and consequences, to draw his readers on by irresistible logic to assent to a good many most wholesome truths that are at the foundation of all sound social science. A certain number of readers will no doubt grow very angry at being disturbed in their prejudices, and Mr. Lilly, like honest parson Wilbur in the "Biglow Papers," as he dares to call in question the sacred phrases of our times, and

Sez they're nothin' on airth but just fee, faw, fum ;  
An' thet all this big talk of our destinies  
Is half on it ignorance, and t'other half rum ;

must take the consequences of his boldness, and expect no mercy from reviewers of the school of Bentham or Mr. Herbert Spencer. And thus the baser sort of his readers will be able to refute to their own satisfaction his fairest arguments with the triumphant syllogism—

But John P.  
Robinson he  
Sez it ain't no such thing ; an', of course, so must we.

But the better sort, those whose nature has been in revolt against the ignoble social science that has held so long a sway in England—the Utilitarian Politics and Jurisprudence, the abstract and inhuman Political Economy—will rejoice to see what is better and nobler set forth so clearly, and illustrated so abundantly. Indeed, a great feature of this, as of other of Mr. Lilly's works, is the marvellous abundance of apt quota-

tion; and those who are most opposed to the author's premises and conclusions must at least admit that he is never dull.

Progress, the subject of the first chapter in this volume, is a subject of never failing interest to those who are real students of the history of man; and the more they study, the more they will see how difficult and complicated is the question of progress; how absurd is simple optimism or simple pessimism; how contrary to fact the theory of a progressive evolution in material and moral welfare; how insufficient the theory of nations passing like individual men through manhood into old age and decay! how hard, in comparing different nations and times, in comparing, for example, the life of a cultivated man in modern London, in fifteenth century Florence, among the Moors in Spain in the eleventh century, at Constantinople under Justinian, at Rome under Marcus Aurelius, at Athens in the time of Aeschylus, at Babylon in still older days, or at the Egyptian Thebes—how hard to set up correctly the account of profit and loss, to decide whether advance in one department of life gives more or gives less compensation for retrogression in another. And if the real condition of the poorer classes is what we are seeking to compare, the difficulty of passing an accurate judgment is still greater, always supposing we are really aiming at the truth, and understand the laws of evidence. Indeed, the whole question of progress, of the growth and decay of art, literature, and philosophy, of those marvellous ancient civilizations of which the traces remain all over the globe, of the future that hangs over Europe, all is full of mystery, intimately connected with religion, and indicating the hidden but irresistible government of Divine Providence.

Mr. Lilly well recognizes the complicated and contradictory character of the world's progress; well urges that if by happiness is meant "agreeable feeling," there is not much more, even if any more, than there used to be; well appreciates the possibility of our civilization like so many others before, passing away.

In the light of these great catastrophies it is not unreasonable to enquire whether we may expect that our progress also will be succeeded by retrogression; that our civilization will suffer an eclipse. No doubt there is, in the present moral and intellectual condition of Europe, much



which recalls the state of decadent Rome, and which may well give rise to the gloomiest forebodings. On all sides there is the same worship of Mammon, and matter, and mechanism; the same cowardly or indifferent acquiescence in established facts; the same disposition to justify anything by paradoxes; the same readiness to throw responsibility upon events, and to drift helplessly before currents of popular caprice; the same abject submission to the force of numbers. There is the same enfeeblement of customs and contempt of authority; the same decay of supersensuous beliefs; the same scepticism about the first principles of morality; the same eagerness to reduce it from an objective fact to a subjective speculation . . . Further, professors of the physical sciences have invaded the domain of ethics in great force, and some of the most famous of them peremptorily require us to believe that virtue and vice are nothing but natural and instinctive and necessary manifestations of heredity; that we are powerless over the predispositions which our ancestors have bequeathed to us . . . Assuredly, if morality be the life of nations, these ominous symptoms might lead us to anticipate a social cataclysm: a breaking up of civilization more terrible and complete than that which Europe witnessed fourteen hundred years ago. (p. 34-36.)

But then we have a principle of recovery (Mr. Lilly goes on to show) that was lacking to the older civilizations, and this is Christianity, the Christian spirit pervading our moral and social life, and which, in our author's words, is the palladium of our progress. It follows that those who are striving to uproot Christianity are preparing the way for decay and catastrophies such as befel the older civilizations; and none preparing the way more effectually than those who are de-Christianizing family life. For the social and political fruits of the Christian spirit can only be gathered where a multitude of Christian homes scattered thro' the land allow the growth of a stock of morality, subordination and piety. As Mr. Lilly most truly says:

There is one social question which far transcends in importance all others; a question upon the true solution of which the moral life or death of a nation depends: I mean the question of the family. (p. 42.)

And again:

The whole of social life is based upon the family. Nor in this age of dissolvent individualism can we insist too strongly upon the sacredness and inviolability of those paternal rights which form its foundation. (p. 141.)

But the sacred rights of husband and wife, and the author-

ity of parents over their children has been gravely and shockingly impaired in England, France, and America, chiefly by the two abominable institutions of divorce courts and irreligious schools—in America the schools having the extra evil of educating boys and girls together and alike, and being so virulent in their evil effects, that already in parts of the great Republic the inhabitants, other than immigrants or Catholics, are sterile and decaying.

Before considering the further lessons of this book, let me answer certain objections that may be raised, not by senseless critics, but by excellent and well-instructed Catholics, to whom certain expressions of the author may be distasteful. They may object that Mr. Lilly seems to speak as though our holy and immutable faith requires alteration and amendment. For he says that "the religion of these modern times must grow with our growing culture, must widen with our wider knowledge" (p. 47); and he cites with apparent approval the warning of Professor Tyndall: "Theologians must liberate and refine their conceptions, or must be prepared for the rejection of them by thoughtful minds" (p. 48). And they may object further that he does not put the case of progress fairly, does not make clear the great historical fact of the renovation of human society by Christianity, and that whatever progress in intellectual knowledge and the industrial arts may be in store for us, moral perfection, as far as such is possible in this present life, has long ago been reached in Christian homes and Christian cloisters, and can never be surpassed. Finally they may object that the heroes of the book are no Christian writers, but Kant, Hegel and Göthe; that the latter is even called "the Seer of these latter days" (p. 19); while in the dedication we find "the masters of Teutonic thought" praised as affording help toward the solutions of our modern problems, and furnishing an antidote to sensualistic individualism: as though the true help was not rather to be sought in the glorious restoration of Catholic philosophy; and as though in the land of these Teutonic masters their teachings had been any avail to check the growth of crass materialism like that of Büchner and Vogt, or the spread of atheistic socialism among millions of their fellow-countrymen.

Now I can answer all these objections by saying that they rest on a complete misunderstanding of the nature and purpose of the book. Mr. Lilly is not writing a manual for the use of colleges and seminaries; he is not even writing primarily for Catholics of any condition; but rather he is writing for the great world of his countrymen, most of them outside the Church, many of them not even Christians. He has the privilege of being able to address them and of knowing they will at least give him a hearing. In such a case both charity and common sense require that he should address them in language that they can understand, and should have consideration for their manifold infirmities. And this is precisely what Mr. Lilly does. He sees many of them entangled in a base and spurious Christianity; many of them deluded by the gospel according to Bentham, that "miserable abortion of morality emptied of the aboriginal ethical idea, and exhibiting virtue as enlightened self-interest, vice as a miscalculation of the chances." (p. 203.) Now in dealing with such delusions he judges, and probably with truth, that the German philosophers and poets are valuable auxiliaries of truth; and being authorities that are in fact held in reverence by his hearers, he can appeal to them with efficacy. It may be quite true that whatever is sound in the ethical and political teaching of these writers is merely a recurrence to the ancient teaching of Christian philosophy. But for Mr. Lilly to say so would be out of place. For he is not writing a history of science, but endeavouring to drive elementary truths into unwilling ears. Again it may be quite true that our glorious triad of Christian poets, Dante, Shakespeare, and Calderon, have written more beautifully and incomparably more wisely than Göthe. But whereas Göthe can be cited with effect in support of the right cause, these older poets are of little use. Mr. Lilly would be told that Dante and Shakespeare would have known better had they lived now—one critic, I will not name, holds that Shakespeare not merely would have been, but actually was an Agnostic—while as to Calderon, if he were but named, the whole audience would immediately leave the present question and adjourn to Exeter Hall to hold a meeting on the Spanish Inquisition. Again, how can Mr. Lilly put before such an audience the whole

glories of Christianity, when the word Christianity means to so many of them not the reality but a distortion. And to such distortions, to the nebulosity, contradiction and historical perversions of the English Church, to the gross vulgarity of many of the Nonconformist Churches, those sentences of Mr. Lilly that sounded strange in Catholic ears are most justly applicable. Truly theologians *à la* Spurgeon must "refine their conceptions;" truly believers in "Continuity" must widen their religion with our wider knowledge.

I hope now to have made clear that the seeming objections to portions of this book are objections based on a misunderstanding; and that intelligent Catholic readers (and the book is not meant for babes and sucklings) can put a proper interpretation on the language. They will know well enough that Kant and Hegel, whatever use may be got from their writings in other departments of philosophy, are not safe guides in Ethics and Politics; that the famous Categorical Imperative of Kant should rather be called the Categorical Indicative; for there can be no command without a commander; that Hegel erected a horrible idol in the shape of a state god, and knew well that in the Catholic Church was his irreconcilable foe that would never bow the knee to the great golden image he had set up; that Göthe uttered habitually many beautiful words and expressed incidentally many wise thoughts; but in his main teaching and personal example was profoundly immoral, and deserves the charges Dr. Barry has brought against him in a former number of this Review (July, 1885), the charges of cynicism, hard-heartedness, and ingrained frivolity.\* They will know all this; but they will have sense to see that for Mr. Lilly to have said all this would have been folly. By a wise and charitable reticence (would that more knew how to practise it) he is enabled to retain his audience and make them listen to the following admirable passages on Utilitarianism.

Speaking of the general but most irrational expectation

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\* Those who wish to know "the true Goethe," that is, to get a real appreciation of his life and works, cannot do better than consult the brilliant work of the Jesuit Fr. Alexander Baumgartner, *Goethe, sein Leben und seine Werke*. Freiburg, 1885. Second edition; a work that deserves translation into English.



that intellectual instruction has, apart from any training of the will, a moralising influence, he says :—

It appears to me to have directly arisen from the Utilitarian philosophy, which resolves morality into self-interest. "Honesty," the teachers of this school insist, "is the best policy; and a thing is honest because it is supremely politic." The practical conclusion is that virtue being enlightened selfishness, men will be virtuous out of regard for their own interests, if the eyes of their understanding are only sufficiently opened to discern what their true interests are. And so M. Mill apparently regards the end of education as being "to diffuse good sense among the people, with such knowledge as would qualify them to judge of the tendencies of their actions." The conception of education held by Utilitarians is essentially mechanical. How should it embrace the culture of the will if, as they one and all teach, from Bentham down to Mr. Spencer, the freedom of the will is an objective and subjective delusion? It looks without, to mechanism, for what can be effected only by dealing with the springs of action within. The Utilitarian philosophy de-ethicises education, as it de-ethicises everything else, by banishing the moral idea. For Utilitarian morality, in all its shapes and forms, is not moral at all. From agreeable feeling, the laws of comfort, needs personal or racial, the interests, whether of the individual or of the community, it is impossible to extract an atom of morality. (p. 136-137.)

Again, speaking of some of the follies of "orthodox" Political Economy, he says, in a passage that may serve also to illustrate the brilliancy of his style :—

"The general prevalence of such artificial wants," our political economists tell us, "is the very token of a high civilization." But both the adjective and substantive are question-begging words. I, for my part, cannot account a people highly civilized among whom delectation takes the place of duty; vapid amusement of virile activity. It appears to me to be written in broad characters over the world's annals that as the superfluous becomes the necessary, the heroic virtues, which are the true roots of national greatness, swiftly droop and die. The general increase of luxury is an indication, not of national prosperity, but of national degeneration. The country is not really rich "when wealth accumulates and men decay." The Highland laird, in *A Legend of Montrose*, who, on seeing the six silver candlesticks in the house of Sir Miles Musgrave, swore that he had "mair candlesticks and better candlesticks in his ain castle at hame than were ever lighted in a hall in Cumberland," and backed his oath with a wager, was held to have won his bet, when he illuminated his dining room with blazing torches held by armed Highlanders. "Would you dare to compare to THEM in value the richest ore that was ever dug out of the mine?" The whole dull Utilitarian philosophy, of which Smithian Political Economy is one of the dullest

chapters, is the philosophy not of a high but of a low civilization. It is that a great writer has well called "*Schwein'sche Weltansicht*": a pig's view of the universe; proclaiming as the conclusion of the whole matter, that "it is the mission of universal pighood and the duty of all pigs, at all times, to diminish the quantity of unattainable pigswash, and to increase that of attainable." (p. 206-207.)

On the delicate questions of liberty, law, and government, our author enforces with many a pointed saying the doctrine of sound though old-fashioned ethics. "A man has a right to do only what the moral law enjoins or permits." "There are things which a man endowed with reason is not free to think." "A man would not be more free, but less, by being able to believe the absurd, by being able to resist the testimony of his reason; nor is the limitation by law of the exterior manifestations of our personality, in speech or in deed, a curtailment of our liberty, if the law be just." "To remove as far as possible all hindrances to a man's obeying his reason, and being freely determined thereby, is the office of law. And this it does by constraining the bad will, and by strengthening the good. Burke has tersely observed, 'The less of law there is within, the more there must be without.'" (p. 63-66.)

Listen again to the following passage:

I say, then, that in political order, as in the physical and moral, law, known and followed, is the instrument of Liberty: law not made by us, but issuing from the nature of things; law whose original is in that *Θεός*—as Plato speaks—that Divine Reason where all ideas are perfectly realized, and which may, more or less perfectly, be apprehended by man's reason, and obeyed by man's will. Here is the true rationale of the authority exercised over us by the State. Man, as man, possesses no claim upon my obedience; only to the law of right, speaking through human ministers, is my submission due. And political freedom really means living under that law, for then we suffer no wrong. The stupidest of superstitions is the belief that Liberty, in the public order, is the necessary product of any constitutional machinery, of any form of government; and, in particular, that it is the inevitable result of government by numbers. (p. 70.)

And elsewhere he urges that no form of polity can be pronounced absolutely best, but each is dependent on race, character, environment, and history; that although all men have natural and imprescriptible political rights, they have no

claim to be equivalent in the public order; that the members of a State, as of any other organism, cannot be all alike; that public opinion, if it is not to be the mere expression of folly, ignorance, and passion, but is to be deserving of respect, must be nothing more and nothing less than the public conscience, that is to say, the recognition of the moral law by the nation as a whole; and that in this sense alone can we assent to the dictum *Vox populi, vox Dei*, or understand the mediæval doctrine that the consent of the governed is essential to a just law.

These and many other passages of a like character sound pleasant in our ears accustomed to the discordant cries of the worshippers of the People, the worshippers of the State, and the worshippers of the Ambiguous or the Opportune. Indeed, much of Mr. Lilly's book, however distant from it in appearance, is in reality a commentary on the political teaching of the present Pope and his predecessor. Many of the illusions so brilliantly exposed are precisely those condemned nearly thirty years ago in the famous "Syllabus of Errors;" while the following passage from the "Encyclical on Human Liberty," shows that Mr. Lilly has in substance given to his English readers the words of Leo XIII. on the nature of liberty:

Igitur in hominum societate libertas veri nominis non est in eo posita ut agas quod lubet, ex quo vel maxima existeret turba et confusio in oppressionem civitatis evasura, sed in hoc, ut per leges civiles expeditius possis secundum legis æternæ præscripta vivere . . . Eo enim est major futura libertas ac tutior, quo frena licentiæ majora.

The same characteristics which mark the earlier parts of Mr. Lilly's book appear in the final essay on Supply and Demand, in which he passes from Politics to the kindred region of Political Economy. We meet the same entertaining style, the same wealth of illustration, above all, the same perpetual emphasis on the extreme need of sound principles in moral philosophy, and the total subordination of both political and economic science to ethics, of which they are in fact two great branches. It is not surprising therefore that he is no friend of those abstract and unreal discussions which compose so much of orthodox or classical political economy. And as

such discussions are unfortunately by no means altogether abandoned, let us listen to the following passage :—

There is nothing which requires more delicate tact, more anxious care, experience more ample, prudence more consummate, than the application of abstract ideas to the shifting and complex material of actual life : to mankind as they live and move, with their inveterate prejudices, their masterful passions, their hallucinative temperaments, their debilitated wills. The “science” which ignores these things, which, isolating certain facts, imposes upon them laws *a priori*, instead of ascertaining, *a posteriori*, what their laws veritably are, is no more a true science than is alchemy or astrology. I seldom take up any work of its professors without thinking of Scarron’s verses.

“ Et je vis l’ombre d’un esprit  
Qui traçait l’ombre d’un système  
Avec l’ombre de l’ombre même.” (p. 201.)

Unhappily, whereas the mischief due to alchemy and astrology has been small, the false science of our own country has caused incalculable misery. Mr. Lilly supplies one example from his own experience. “I do not think,” he says, “I have myself seen anything more monstrous than the application once given to it (the Shibboleth of Supply and Demand) in India, where the populations of large districts were allowed to die of starvation, Governments and Boards of Revenue declining ‘to interfere with the course of trade,’ or to ‘check the working of the laws of Political Economy.’” (p. 190—191.)

Many excellent persons in their horror at such spectacles, and in their aversion to the inhuman theories of economists, have taken refuge in the camp of the socialists, without being fully aware of the company that will await them there. Mr. Lilly has much too well-balanced a mind to make a similar mistake. No doubt socialism is a just retribution for immoral economics and irreligious liberalism ; and those who have long set at nought all Christian teaching on riches and poverty, on obedience and responsibility, have no case against the socialists, no title to throw any stones. But because they are wrong, this does not make socialism right. Its very programme only offers us “universal slavery with a modicum of pigswash for all,” while its real meaning is “red ruin and the breaking up of laws . . . the negation of country, of history, of liberty, of property, the destruction of all that constitutes civilization in the highest sense.” (p. 213—214.)



In working out details of any theory and its particular applications, there is sure to be room for legitimate difference of opinion; and perhaps Mr. Lilly, by the very fact of his keen sense of the State being an ethical organism, and his just aversion to political Mechanicians and Materialists, is inclined to stretch the functions of government a little too far. The recommendation of universal military service seems a case in point; and in his suggestion for a very needful reform, an authority for settling at least the minimum of wages, he seems to me to attribute too much to government officials, too little to the action of corporations, or bodies composed of both masters and workmen, of which we see germs among ourselves in our Board of Conciliation, and to which the Papal Encyclical on Labour has called such particular attention. But these are questions of detail; whereas it is not a question of detail to insist, as Mr. Lilly so justly does, that the notion of a *just price*, which has vanished from our minds, must be restored; or again, that we must never cease proclaiming the fiduciary character of property and the duties inseparably attached to it. On which fiduciary character one more citation must be permitted:

The right of private property springs from necessity, issuing from the reason of things. It is conditioned by the duty that it should be made a common good. And those who convert it into a common evil, who by cupidity, by luxury, by neglect of public obligations, by harshness to the poor, make their absorption of so much of the general stock as they possess a public mischief—such, assuredly, little as they may think it, are undermining the institution itself. To pay covenanted wages by no means exhausts the duty of the capitalist to his workpeople. (p. 223.)

There are a certain number of persons, intelligent but greatly misinformed, who think that all legislation protective of the poorer and weaker members of the State is socialistic. To make such persons understand that they are themselves most effective though unwilling promoters of socialism is difficult; or to make them understand the true functions of a humane, rational, and Christian Government; and as long as they remain in their present condition of mind Mr. Lilly's book will not be acceptable to them. But it is otherwise with others better able to judge. Thus, in a letter to the author, the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, a few days before

his death, wrote in reference to the last chapter of this book :  
 "In its denunciation of the material, mechanical, modern,  
 individualistic political economy, I sympathise altogether.  
 Lord Salisbury and Mr. Giffen resented my calling it 'heart-  
 less and headless.' Your chapter says what I mean . . . .  
 "The abolition of the moral law is atheism in fact and deed."  
 "How many lessons can be learnt from these few words—few  
 but, as was his wont, significant: that atheism dulls the  
 head and freezes the heart; that the mechanical contrivances  
 for our political and economic welfare, alike those of  
 individualists and of socialists, are heartless and therefore  
 unavailing; that the golden future promised us by the  
 champions of education, of co-operation, or of socialism, and  
 even the present deeds of irreligious philanthropy, are head-  
 less—based on self-illusion—and therefore unavailing; that  
 though morality is in idea not to be identified with religion,  
 the two are inseparable in practice; and that the arch-  
 enemies of society are the teachers of irreligion. It is indeed  
 so that we should understand our circumstances, and how the  
 threatening and dreadful struggles of social revolution,  
 whether in England or Europe, in America or Australia, are  
 only to be averted by the combined operation of Christian  
 homes, Christian schools, Christian associations, and the  
 Christian State.

C. S. DEVAS.

## Science Notices.

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**The Origin of Binary Stars.**—Mr. T. J. J. See, a young American astronomer residing at Berlin, has lately undertaken a research of great interest into the mode of origin of binary stars. The high eccentricities of their orbits afford a clue leading, through his ingenious treatment, to results of no small importance, published in recent numbers of the "Observatory" and "Knowledge." It appears that, on an average, revolving stars travel in paths more than twelve times more elongated than those pursued by the planets and satellites of the solar system; and this is a fact which should certainly not be overlooked by enquirers into their history. Mr. See deserves full credit for taking the initiative in tracing out its significance. He explains it as an effect of what is called "tidal friction." This means that bodies pulled out of shape by the inequality of their mutual attractions are, by this very distortion, rendered capable of modifying, in very curious ways, each the rotating and revolving movements of the other. Their axial spinning slackens to begin with; and this immediate result of frictional resistance is illustrated to us visibly by the Moon's always turning the same face inwards to the Earth. It is accompanied by the gradual retreat of the bodies concerned along corkscrew windings, so disposed as to add continually to the eccentricity of their slowly widening orbits. But this process does not go on indefinitely in the same direction. After the lapse of ages, when the stars have cooled down to a non-luminous condition, it is reversed, and the elongated tracks pursued by them become once more nearly circular. So the theory concludes, and we have no means of refuting its inferences, since the hypothetical systems of outworn suns they point to should remain, in all likelihood, inaccessible for ever to observation.

Tidal friction has, however, been comparatively ineffective in the solar system owing to the very small masses of the planets relatively to the Sun; while it attains a maximum of efficiency in such combinations of nearly equal bodies as stellar systems present; and it is just for this reason, according to our present authority, that the planets move along paths differing little from circles, but the stars in orbits of strongly pronounced eccentricity.

Double stars, we are further told, originated most probably from double nebulae, and these again exhibit so commonly the "figures of equilibrium," resulting from the disruption through over-rapid rotation, of a single primitive mass, that we can hardly hesitate to admit their having come into existence by what is called, when it takes place among protozoan creatures, "fission." Double stars were not then probably, Mr. See remarks, "formed as rings, but as globular masses, and since the process of separation thus disclosed would seem to be the normal form of celestial evolution, some doubt is thrown upon Laplace's theory of ring-formation as applied even in our own complex and remarkable system, composed of a great number of very small planets and satellites moving in nearly" circular orbits about central bodies of a much higher order of mass. Such a system, we may be quite sure, is attached to no binary star, for its equilibrium would be disturbed, to a dangerous if not ruinous extent, by the periodical incursions of a body co-ordinate, in point of gravitating power, with its own governing mass. Only single stars, so far as we can judge, are fitted for the attendance of extensive planetary trains. But single stars prove to be much rarer than had been supposed some time ago. The progress of modern research tends to exhibit stellar multiplicity as the rule, rather than as an exception. Hence such a combination of circumstances adapted to the support of life as the earth presents, may not often be repeated even among the incalculable varieties of state and condition offered throughout the vast range of sidereal space. Our habitation, if not unique in its arrangements, appears at any rate to be exceptional.

**Algol as a Triple Star.**—The period of nearly three days governing the luminous vicissitudes of the famous variable in the head of Medusa, has long been known to fluctuate to a very slight extent in accordance with some fixed law. In other words, each expected eclipse anticipates its due time during a series of years by a small fraction of a second, then enters upon a compensatory course of retardation. Minute, however, as these inequalities are in themselves, they sum up by prolonged accumulation to a considerable amount. Thus, the observations of the star were, in 1843, recorded no less than one hundred and sixty-five minutes later than if they had always recurred with strict punctuality; and they will, in the course of ten or twelve years, probably be just as much in advance of the normal epochs. The inequality is, in fact, strictly cyclical, and its recent investigation by Dr. Chandler has led to some most interesting results. The system in which it has become



manifest proves to be of highly intricate construction. It is, at any rate triple, and may be quadruple, or quintuple, including two or more invisible members, besides the one visible bright one dipping into partial obscurity once in every sixty-nine hours. According to Dr. Chandler's hypothesis, Algol and its close companion travel together round a distant dark mass in a period of about one hundred and thirty years. Their orbit may be said to be of the same size with that described by Uranus round the Sun; it is nearly circular, and lies inclined at an angle of twenty degrees to our line of sight. The alternate delay and anticipation of the observed eclipses are thus due simply to the alternate lengthening and shortening of the journey imposed upon the light waves bringing the announcements of them. For when Algol is on the nearer side of the large orbit now ascribed to it, the light it emits must reach our eyes much sooner than when it is on the farther side of it. The extreme difference should indeed amount to several hours. Hence the periodical swaying back and forth in time of the star's noted occultations are not grounded in any physical reality. The satellite producing them is not genuinely retarded or hurried in its course; it is only the distance of its circlings from ourselves that varies. We see the obscuring effects of its intervention by turns too late and too soon, just for the same reason that we see by turns too late and too soon the eclipses of Jupiter's satellites. The orbital movement of Algol produces in one case the same kind of result that the orbital movement of the Earth does in the other.

Dr. Chandler moreover adduces evidence of telescopic displacement of the "Demon Star" corresponding to its newly-detected orbital movement. The numerous observations made upon it from 1753 to the present time indicate, he considers, a visible, but very slow oscillation of the star in a tiny ellipse less than three seconds of arc in its longest diameter as projected upon the sky. But since this little span represents an actual width of space thirty-eight times the distance from the Earth to the Sun, it follows that the remoteness of Algol from our system is so enormous that light requires nearly forty-seven years to effect the transit. Now this remoteness implies extraordinary brilliancy. To shine as it does, in fact, the star must emit sixty-three times the quantity of light diffused through space by our own potent Sun. Yet Dr. Vogel's skilful enquiries into the conditions of its eclipses show it with some probability to possess less than half the solar mass; while its specific gravity is so low that it nevertheless exceeds the Sun in size, and owns consequently a more extensive

radiating surface. This superiority being duly allowed for, it still appears that the intrinsic lustre of this surface, square mile per square mile, must exceed that of the solar photosphere forty-seven times.

This extraordinary luminous intensity contrasts most strangely with the obscurity, both of the satellite by which the star is attended, and of the central mass round which it revolves. The chief part of the gravitational power of the system appears to reside in this latter unseen body which sends forth none the less little if any light. What is the reason, we cannot but ask, of this anomalous condition? Have we here an effete sun, or rather a globe which, through causes to us inscrutable, was never endowed with sunlike qualities? No satisfactory answers can at present be afforded to such queries; yet it is becoming more and more evident that mere differences in the rate of cooling are insufficient to explain the startling disparities in the luminosity of stars brought to our knowledge by recent researches.

Eight stars resembling Algol in their mode of variability, and presumed hence to be subject to periodical eclipses, have so far been discovered. And most of these stars further resemble Algol in showing irregularities of the type of those discovered by Dr. Chandler. They may then be expected to lend themselves to the same kind of explanation. A novel and important field of enquiry is accordingly thrown open to astronomers by these tell-tale disturbances; for their attentive study can hardly fail to disclose the existence of otherwise unrecognisable cosmical masses, obscure centres of power, by which the revolutions of the multiple systems they help to form, are mainly ruled and controlled.

**Nova Aurigae.**—The “new star” of February last had vanished to ordinary observation by the end of March. For more than a month its light fluctuated, but did not continuously wane; then, about March 6th, the agitating causes which had produced the outburst, seemed all at once to subside, and the star faded rapidly and without pause. All save very powerful telescopes lost sight of it in April; yet it has since re-appeared. The materials for its history are not then complete; they may still be added to; but since they are in large measure photographic, they happily constitute a permanent record, available not only for present discussion, but for future comparisons. This in itself constitutes an immense advance upon the methods of observation employed with all previous stellar apparitions. Just as Birmingham’s star of 1866

is memorable as the first "temporary" examined with the aid of the prism, so Nova Aurigae will stand out as the first brought within the powerful grasp of the camera. A material accession of knowledge resulted immediately, and, it might be said, inevitably. It is now certainly known that "new stars" are compound objects. The blaze characterizing them is derived from a two-fold source. The blazing bodies, moreover, are in swift relative motion. Those constituting Nova Aurigae, for instance, were rushing away from one another, during the whole time of observation, at the startling rate of about 550 miles a second, or forty-seven millions of miles a day! Now their close approach was unquestionably responsible in some way for the luminous manifestation of their existence; yet there can have been no actual collision, since there was evidently no loss of motion. The mutual influence, nevertheless, of these swiftly-travelling masses sufficed to raise both simultaneously from comparative obscurity to brilliant incandescence. The difficulty is to determine in what manner it was created. Electrical action has been suggested; and powerful effects of the kind should beyond doubt be produced by the sweep past each other, with portentous velocities, of two such masses. Yet other forces may also have been called into play. In an interesting discourse delivered at the Royal Institution on May 13th, Dr. Huggins advocated the view that tidal disturbances were the main factor in the evolution of light by which the Nova was brought within the range of acquaintance of us earth-dwellers. The strain of unequal attraction due to the close vicinity of two such large globes might, he considered, have given rise to prodigious volcanic eruptions of heated gases, by which their sudden brightening, and the various appearances recorded in their spectra, could be sufficiently accounted for. Solar prominences probably show the same kind of effect, but on an absolutely insignificant scale, when confronted with the catastrophic results of overthrown equilibrium in the mutually disturbing bodies combined to form the New Star of 1892. A curious epilogue was added to its history by Mr. Espin's re-discovery of the object under a considerably brightened aspect, on August 21st. It was then of the ninth magnitude, and its spectrum, like that of Nova Cygni in vanishing (1876-7) was reduced to one bright line in the green. Investigations of the nature and position of this line may prove to be of critical importance in astro-physics.

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## Notes of Travel and Exploration.

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**Travels in Western China.\***—Mr. Pratt's illustrated volume tells the story of a journey up the Yangtse-kiang to the Tibetan border, though not actually within the present limits of Tibet itself. In Sze-chuan he came upon the track of the French missionaries, and was much impressed with their devoted lives.

At Ta-tien-chih (he says) I found Père Joseph Martin on a visit to his converts. He had not seen a European since Baber, eleven years ago, and was kind enough to lend me the old mission house to live in. This devoted man has lived in the neighbourhood for many years, and has no intention of ever returning to Europe. He has made many converts and is much beloved by them.

The greatest natural curiosity of this region is the sacred mountain of Omei with its precipice, a mile in height, from the brink of which is seen the strange phenomenon known as the "Glory of Buddha." He described as follows the appearance as seen from the "Golden Summit" of this stupendous cliff:

This extraordinary phenomenon is apparently the reflection of the sun upon the upper surface of the clouds beneath, and has the appearance of a golden disc surrounded by radiating bars bearing all the colours of the rainbow. These are constantly moving, and scintillate and change colour in a very remarkable manner. It is held in great respect by the Buddhists, and thousands of pilgrims, some coming from great distances, visit the mountain in the hope of being able to see it. A considerable number of them are so overcome by excess of religious feeling on beholding it, that they throw themselves over the frightful precipice into the clouds beneath on which it appears, their bodies as a rule falling upon an inaccessible spur covered with forest, perhaps a mile or more below.

**Indian Census Returns.**—The grand total of population for British and Feudatory India is returned as 288 millions, of whom 287,223,431 were individually enumerated, while 870,000 are added from districts where the count was by households, and which are omitted from the statistical details of the census. The British provinces contain, in round numbers, 221, and the Feudatory States 66 millions, on areas aggregating 962,070, and 595,310 square miles respectively. Upper Burmah, Lushai, and Kashmir, now enumerated for the first time, contribute the several figures of 2,946,930; 43,630; and 2,543,950. Omitting these fresh areas from the calculation, we

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\* To the Snows of Tibet through China. By A. E. Pratt, F.R.G.S.  
London: Longmans & Co. 1892.



find an increase of  $9\frac{3}{4}$  per cent. in the British provinces, as compared with  $15\frac{1}{2}$  in the Feudatory States, or an average of nearly 11 per cent. for the entire of British India. The density per square mile has risen in like proportion from 227 to 249 in the former and from 107 to 123 in the latter area, the average for the entire territory including the newly incorporated districts, being 184. The distribution of population varies from the maximum density of 522 in Oudh, approaching to the 536 of Belgium; and the 471 of Bengal, nearly reaching the figure of 498 for England and Wales, to the sparse habitation of Upper Burmah and Kashmir, represented by 53 and 31 respectively. The Madras Native States have 385 per square mile, Baroda 294, the Madras Presidency 251, Bombay 207, and Ajmir 200, all the remaining localities being returned for less than this figure. The more rapid increase in the population of the Feudatory States is due to their being in many cases the recipients of the overflow from British territory, where the pressure on the soil is greater. This transference at first generally takes the form of intermarriage, the peasants on the British border giving their daughters as wives to the villagers beyond it. This movement is shown in the statistics by the larger proportion of female migration in the border district, while in Rajputana alone, owing to the fact that it is a favourite recruiting ground for the British army, the reverse holds good.

The urban population still bears a very small proportion to the rural, accounting for only  $9\frac{1}{2}$  per cent of the total, and in some of the more remote localities being practically non-existent. So largely is this the case in Bengal, that it only figures there as 4.8, despite the great agglomerations in Calcutta and other large towns. Its highest rate of increase has been in the towns of between 50,000 and 75,000, and 20,000 and 25,000, in which it is reckoned at 13.60, and 11.58 respectively. Bombay surpasses Calcutta in the proportion of 821,760 to 741,140, though if the suburbs of the former were to be taken into account, the number of its inhabitants might be raised to 978,370. Madras, with but 452,520, is run close by Hyderabad with 415,000; and Lucknow with 273,030, by Benares with 219,470 inhabitants. The most rapid increase during the ten years has been made by Karachi, at the rate of 43 per cent, after which come Rangoon and Cawnpore, grown 34 and 24 per cent respectively, while Patna, Amritsar, Surat and Mirzapore, alone of the great towns have remained stationary.

The religious classification of the population gives  $75\frac{1}{2}$  per cent of Hindus, including all ramifications of the creed, nearly 20 per cent of Mussulmans, and nearly  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent of Buddhists, while Christians

are estimated at 0·80, Sikhs at 0·66, and Jains at 0·49 per cent; Jews, Parsis, and less defined sects forming smaller fractions. The Buddhists have made the most rapid increase, at the rate of  $24\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., and Christians at over 22 per cent., including conversions on a large scale among the forest tribes, professing the animistic forms of Hinduism. The tribes in Chutia Nagpore, for instance, have become Catholics to the number of over 40,000, in 1889—90, and the Karens of Burma have also yielded large results to missionary labour.

**Carrier-Bards of India.**—The “Globe” of July 9th gives a curious account quoted from the “Bombay Gazette” of the Charuns and Bhats, who occupy so large a place in the society in Western India in their double capacity of bards and carriers. Not only is their sacred character recognized by their exemption from certain forms of taxation, but they are enabled to enforce compliance with all their demands on the chiefs themselves by the threat of what is called “Tragga,” cutting, wounding, or even killing themselves or some member of their families that the blood of the victim may rest on the head of the oppressor. The death of a Charun by his own hand under such circumstances would place the chief responsible for it under the ban of a species of excommunication; and the possession of such a weapon renders the class imperious in their demands, and often difficult to deal with, requiring at once tact and firmness on the part of the Kathiawar chiefs. Under the generic name of Banjaris this tribe is known all over the country as that of its general carriers, encountered everywhere travelling with their droves of pack-bullocks, on whose backs, despite the great increase of railway mileage, the vast internal trade of India is still carried. Their business has, indeed, probably been increased by the development of steam communication, as they have opened up fresh lines of traffic, and act as feeders to the railways. Their “tandas,” or caravans, are principally loaded with salt, grain, or seeds, carried in strong thick bags flung across the backs of the bullocks without rope or strap to fasten them, and dependent on balance for their security. During the night they are piled in stacks round which the leader and his family keep guard, though the sacredness of their calling, and the dread of their anathema are in themselves sufficient to give them immunity from plunder. These large caravans add an element of singular picturesqueness to the landscape as they wind along the road, the men with large, loosely folded turbans, flowing white robes, and necklaces often of gold, the women in gaily coloured garments, surmounted by high conical caps, adorned with gold and silver chains, and small bells, while a richly coloured scarf pendent

from them hangs over the shoulders. Tall, lithe, and upright in figure, with pleasing features and smooth dark skin, wearing a petticoat of one colour, and a bodice of a brighter hue, her jet-black hair twisted up with gold and silver coins, her arms and legs bound with bracelets and bangles of silver and ivory, and her ornamental conical head-dress crowning the entire, the Banjari woman is a sight to be remembered. The Charun as a bard occupies a distinguished position, and is often entrusted with confidential negotiations, such as marriage proposals, when he is the bearer of the cocoanut significant of an offer. His duty is to accompany his chief on all expeditions that he may narrate his exploits in stirring verse handed down from generation to generation. He is the authority too on the family genealogy, and like the Scald of the ancient Norseman is sometimes called upon in full durbar to recite in the flowery language of his country some traditional glory of his chieftain's house. His influence is thus not to be wondered at, despite the, to us, incongruous combination of professions he represents.

**Italian Immigration in Brazil.**—A monthly review published at Rio Janeiro under the title of *Il Bresile*, gives statistics of the European immigration into that country in 1891. The total number of those landed in the ports of Rio de Janeiro and Santos was over 216,000, of whom about 140,000 were Italians. As the majority of the immigrants have their passage paid by the State at the rate of nearly seven pounds per head, a sum of close upon 80,000 francs is said, on the authority of a minister of Agriculture, to have been expended in this way during the year in question, while *Il Bresile* declares that the country is not prepared to receive with advantage more than 50,000 fresh settlers. It asserts furthermore, that the payment of the passage of hundreds of thousands of foreigners is done in the interest of private speculators, who make large profits on contracts for immigration, shared of course with influential protectors. Most of those thus introduced are not agriculturists as they are induced to profess themselves, but tradesmen or artisans, who fail to find suitable employment in the interior, and return to the seaports to earn a miserable and precarious livelihood. The genuine rural labourer has, on the other hand, every chance of obtaining suitable employment, if he escapes the yellow fever, which attacks some fifty per cent of those imported in the five first months of the year. The self-paid immigrant, lured by the promise of a grant of land, is often deceived in the promises held out to him owing to the chicanery of local officials, either receiving a worthless lot, or having to pay dearly for more favourable treatment. The

writer suggests as a remedy for these crying evils the abolition of the present complicated service of the inspection of lands and immigration, and the substitution for it of a simple commission for the reception and direction of settlers, composed of three honest and well-paid interpreters.

**The Jebu Expedition** —The *Times* of July 25th contains a narrative of the Jebu expedition despatched from Lagos on May 12th, in order to punish the tribe for breach of a treaty negotiated a few weeks previously. Their territory, sixty miles from Lagos, to the south of the rich and important Yoruba country, has the power, in combination with the adjoining Egba tribe, of absolutely blocking the road between it and the English port. The Governor of the latter consequently concluded an arrangement, stipulating that the Jebus should keep the roads open without exacting toll, in consideration of a payment of £500 a year to their "Ajuwale," or king. In defiance of this compact, the roads were again blocked, and amicable negotiations having failed, nothing was left to the British authorities but to resort to force. The expedition, consisting of local troops, white and coloured, was attacked on the road, and had to fight for three days before vanquishing the obstinate resistance of the enemy, mustering 8,000 strong. Its success was, however, complete, as the royal residence was occupied, the king taken prisoner, and the toll gates destroyed. All the roads to the interior are now open to traffic, and the already vast trade in indigo, ivory, palm oil, maize, coffee, rice, and yams will be still further increased by the improved conditions of security now obtained. The Jebu country itself, hitherto closed to white men, is found to be rich and productive, with great capabilities for future development. The tribe is large and wealthy, possessing arms and ammunition, of which they will now be deprived, in considerable quantities. Their religion is pure fetishism, and their priests have unlimited power and authority. The evil spirits, to whom alone they offer worship, are propitiated by human sacrifices, of which the ghastly traces were seen in skulls nailed to the trees in their sacred groves, 200 slaves having, it is said, been recently sacrificed as an offering for the repulse of the enemy.

**The Sangir Eruption** —The Dutch papers publish letters dated June 12th, from Menado, the chief Dutch settlement in the north of Celebes, about three hundred miles distant from Sangir. The suddenness of the disaster was one of its most remarkable features, for no preliminary shock or seismic disturbance gave notice



of the terrific eruption which took place at ten minutes past six on the evening of June 7th, from the great volcano, Gunova Awa, not far from Tarvena, the capital of the island. Ashes and stones of considerable size began to fall over the surface of the latter, killing hundreds, as the natives then abroad in the fields gathering in their paddy harvest, were unsheltered from it. Even the houses, frail wooden structures, were in many cases crushed by the shower of projectiles, and collapsed, burying the inmates beneath their ruins. On the slopes of the mountain, thickly strewn with villages and plantations, great destruction was caused by streams of lava which flowed rapidly into the neighbouring valley, sweeping away houses and their contents, with some of their occupants. It is feared that most of those on the higher part of the mountain must have perished, and great anxiety is felt as to the fate of between 500 and 1,000 men known to have been engaged in the rice fields on the slopes, as nothing has been heard of them, and none of the natives would venture near the volcano. Famine now threatens the island, as all the crops have been destroyed, and the cocoanuts have suffered severely. Scarcity of water is among the effects of the disaster, as many of the wells have run dry. Measures for the relief of the sufferers were being taken by the Dutch Government, and a steamer had been placed at the disposal of the local supervisor of the distribution of food and other supplies.\*

**Eruption of Etna** —The volcanic outburst in the Indian Archipelago was followed at a month's interval, by a violent eruption of Etna. The activity of the latter was shared in a less degree by Vesuvius, an event of rare occurrence, as each generally relieves the pressure from the other. The Sicilian volcano had been for some time back showing signs of agitation, sending out occasional puffs of steam from the central crater as well as from the *fumarole*, or minor fissures in the mountain. These premonitory symptoms were followed on the night of July 8th by the emission from the main orifice of a stupendous column of black smoke, spreading out as it ascended into the pine-tree canopy which usually heralds an eruption. The gleam of lightnings athwart this cloud, and the sinister rumblings accompanying it, were a fitting prelude to the subsequent development. The emission of smoke ceased after about an hour, and the sky cleared, but the bellowing of the mountain continued, and the soil quivered almost incessantly with slight shocks of earthquake. These throes went on until after midday on the 9th, when the side of the mountain gaped about half way up, and with detonations like

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\* The *Globe*, July 28th.

the noise of artillery, and great discharge of vapour, the lava flood rushed out in two rivers of fire, descending towards the rich orange and almond groves surrounding Nicolosi. On the 11th, it had travelled seven kilometres, with a frontage of several miles. The spectacle offered by the mountain at night was terrific, incandescent masses being launched into the air to a stupendous height, while the flowing lava formed a zone of fire on its brow. The lava flowing towards Nicolosi travelled at the rate of over fifty yards an hour, the other streams at a less velocity. The inhabitants heard mass kneeling outside the cathedral, fearing to enter it on account of the constant earthquakes. The Italian papers published a letter from Dr. Carlo del Lungo, of the Observatory at Catania, describing as follows the appearance of the lava stream:

I have been to Monte Rinazzi to the lava stream descending on the west, where the river of fire has made its way through a chestnut forest, and advances inexorably, burning and devouring everything. The vast wave, more than ten metres high, and a kilometre long, moves on in awful incandescence, illuminating the wood with a lurid glare. It advances slowly, in short stages, rolling over, but never pauses, turning obstacles, filling up depressions, flowing on, inexorably on, so that no human power could stay this avalanche of fire. On its external surface it hardens into a black crust, which in its rotatory movement slides forward with a noise like falling tiles, while the rest of the fiery paste passes over it. The heat radiated by it is terrific, and at the distance of ten yards is quite insupportable; and the light it emits hurts the eye, so that it is impossible to look long at it. Then how terrible is the struggle between living nature and the destroying element, for even at the approach of the fiery lava the trees writhe, sputter, smoke and hiss like condemned criminals, terrified at the consuming flames, at last they kindle in a blaze and these conflagrations are like outriders forming a girdle of pyres round the sea of fire. The Rinazzi wood will be destroyed before the close of the day, and then will come the turn of the vineyards.

Unlike Vesuvius which has no record of eruption before the Christian era, Etna figures as an active volcano in the earliest tradition. Diodorus Siculus records an eruption before the Trojan war some thirty-four centuries ago, and Thucydides in describing the 425 years before Christ, refers to two earlier ones. A terrible one described by Orosius occurred in 122 A.D., inflicting such ruin on the country that the Roman Senate exempted it from tribute for ten years. In the present century there have been previous to the present one, fifteen eruptions, of which the most formidable was that of 1852. It converted the Valle del Bove into a sea of fire, and lasted four months, but was not disastrous, as it did not invade inhabited or cultivated districts.

**The Todas of the Nilgherries.**—These strange folk, variously

believed to be a remnant of the lost tribes of Israel, a Manichæan community, and a surviving fragment of the aborigines of Southern India, form a society of 600 to 700 individuals, living in villages of wicker-work huts, scattered over the slopes of the Nilgherries, and looking like settlements of beehives. They are described by Mr. J. D. Rees as living on milk and the produce of the buffalo, while enjoying among their neighbours the reputation of wizards, and receiving fees for various forms of spells and cabalistic offices. Their creed includes belief in a strange trinity and a hell, consisting of a stream full of leeches, crossed by a single thread, which sustains the souls of the just, but breaks under the weight of those burdened with sin. The bodies of the dead are wrapped in a new cloth, their toes tied together with red thread, and provided with grain, sugar, tobacco, and money, stored in the folds of their cerements. The corpse, its hands having been placed on the horns of two buffaloes slaughtered beside it, is burned on a funeral pyre smeared with clarified butter, after a portion of its skull, its hair, and finger nails have been removed to be used in the great annual ceremonial in honour of all who have died during the previous twelve months. This celebration is described as resembling a great fair.

Grave-looking greybeards bestride wooden horses, burlesque tigers, and long-trunked elephants, and ample togas flutter in the breeze as the merry-go-round whirls around as it does at an English fair at the rate of a farthing for thirty revolutions, and swing-boats sway with their aerial freight. In a long impromptu lane shopkeepers from the neighbouring station of Ootacamund, eight miles away, display their wares—sugar cane, rock cakes browned with burnt sugar, fried rice, oranges, ginger beer, coconuts, cinnamon and dates being the prevailing delicacies, with cigars and cabbage-rolled cigarettes.

In every house of mourning the women crouch besides the relics of the dead preserved from the pyre, together with the grain measures and milk bowls of the departed. A great umbrella dance of bearded Todas ushers in the closing sacrifice of two buffalo cows for each of the deceased. The animals are kept in a kraal, into which at the appointed time twelve athletes leap for the ceremony of their capture and slaughter. Six of them fling away their clubs and seize the buffaloes by their horns, holding them until one of the guests approaches and throws a chaplet of leaves over the selected victim. The athletes then drag it to the sacrificial stone, where it is slain by the blow of an axe, while the Divinity is asked to accept its death as an expiation for the sins of him "whose name shall never more be spoken on earth!" The same ceremony is gone through with each animal in succession, and the women on the following

morning meet at the house of mourning, light a fire by rubbing two sticks together, and burn down the house with all the relics of the dead contained in it.—The *Globe*, July 19th, 1892.

**The Future of Egypt.**—The Austro-Hungarian Consul at Alexandria has published an interesting report on the economic development of Egypt, in which he controverts the prevailing belief as to the pre-eminently agricultural character of the resources of Egypt. He admits, indeed, that its rural production during the last years has been enormous, and has gone on increasing; but he points out that this is entirely due to artificial expedients, since within a brief period over £1,800,000 has been spent on irrigation. He therefore thinks that there is a limit to the productiveness of the soil, and refers to the returns of cotton planting in support of his assertion. The industrial resources of the country in his view should be developed, a course which, being contrary to English interests, he seems to think has been deliberately eschewed by its present protectors.

**The Hazaras.**—The scattered tribes whose revolt against Afghanistan has caused considerable uneasiness in India, inhabit a mountainous region from 5,000 to 7,000 feet in height between Herat and Kabul, where they have maintained a semi-independent existence since the days of Tchinghiz Khan. Their numbers have been estimated at 160,000, including the members of six different tribes, subdivided into clans, and of a problematical common origin. They are probably the descendents of one of the *ming*s (thousands) of the aforesaid Asiatic conqueror, as their name is the Tadjik synonym for the Turkish *meng*, and their flat noses and hairless faces betray the Mongol descent which they are now anxious to disclaim. Their country is barren and unproductive, but the grass and shrubs clothing the slopes supply pasture and winter fodder, while in the higher valleys the hardy Tibetan barley is grown, and in the lower, wheat and millet as well. The snow lies on the ground for several months, and in the scarcity of wood, a small furze bush called "buta," is gathered and stored for fuel. The lead mines which are found in many places are little worked from fear of Afghan raids, and other mineral products, such as iron, copper, and lapis lazuli, all said to exist, are equally neglected. The Hazaras are good horsemen, mounted on steeds whose ragged appearance belies their endurance and power of work, and their warlike reputation was sustained at the battle of Maiwand, where they formed the principal irregular cavalry contingent of Ayub Khan. The attempt



to recruit them for the British service proved a failure as they declined to enter it on the reasonable plea put forward by many other tribes as well, that on the withdrawal of the British they would be sacrificed to the vengeance of their countrymen. The present rising is due to the oppression of the Afghan soldiery quartered on the Uruzghans, from whom it has spread to all the Hazara tribes.—*The Times*, July 26th.

**New Canal from Amsterdam to the Rhine.**—On August 2nd, the Queen and Queen Regent of the Netherlands assisted at the opening of the already completed section of the new canal intended to connect Amsterdam with the Rhine. Although not on the scale of the great maritime canals, the new waterway will accommodate steamers of considerable size, as it will have a width of 100 feet, and a depth of  $10\frac{1}{2}$  feet. The completed portion, from Amsterdam to Wreeswyk, is 28 miles long, and its total length to its terminal point, Merwede, will be  $43\frac{1}{2}$  miles. Its construction will render Amsterdam, already connected with the sea by a great ship canal, one of the largest emporia for the traffic of the valley of the Rhine and of the German cities of which it is the highway.

**Financial Difficulties of the Manchester Ship Canal.**—The original estimate of £5,750,000, for the cost of the Manchester Ship Canal, raised by the purchase of the rights of the Bridgewater Navigation Company to nearly  $8\frac{1}{2}$  million, had been already largely exceeded last year by the actual outlay, and the Corporation of Manchester were compelled to intervene with a loan of three millions secured on the rates, in order to prevent the collapse of the enterprise. Even this liberal advance now proves to be insufficient, and the directors announce a fresh deficit of a million and a half, for which a further extension of the statutory powers of the Corporation will doubtless be demanded, as private investors are not likely to come to the rescue. The expenditure on the works will probably, at the most moderate calculation, exceed 14 millions, nor is this discrepancy between theory and practice to be wondered at when we find that particular portions of the Canal have already cost double, and are likely to cost treble the estimated amount.

E. M. C.

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# Notes on Foreign Periodicals.

## ITALY.

**Civiltà Cattolica.** May, 1892.

**THE Jewish Archives** has been celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of its foundation as an organ of Jewish opinion—and the occasion has been signalized by the publication of a volume by joint writers on Judaism. The Grand Rabbi, Elias Aristides Astruc, contributes an essay—**Why we remain Jews.** It gives him room to review the prominent religions of the world, and among other new observations says that Protestantism is to be the religion of the future, simply a Deism, shorn of all Christian truth. We hope that Protestants are happy in being classed among the Elohist. The **Migration of the Hittites** discusses questions bearing on Hittite art, and severely overhauls several orientalists. A review of **Italian Revolutionary Literature**, embracing its principles of ethics, and an analysis of the miracles of Lourdes, supply at once a striking variety of subjects for which the **Civiltà** is famous, and comes an example of how the directors of this important review find that modern questions which puzzle the public mind are those with which a Catholic review ought to deal. **Herod, the Poet**, introduces us to an early writer who gave much trouble to the classical antiquarians for many generations. He is mentioned by Pliny as working with Callimachus, as a poet—but when he lived, and where, and what he wrote, have remained in the most profound darkness. In a tomb, in Egypt, rolls of papyrus have been found, and they turn out to be the works of the long forgotten Iambist. A vast mass of learning, antiquarian, philological, and palæographical, has been brought to bear on the old uncials of the papyrus by the most learned Hellenists of Europe, but very little advance is made towards instructing a biography of the poet. A reference to the temple of Ptolemy II., indicates that the poet could not have been prior to 7 B.C., when the temple was consecrated to Arsinoë, and the **Civiltà** thinks that he flourished in the third century B.C. The poet's verses are Iambics, and portray in short breezy pieces some (not always of virtuous tendency) of everyday life. His birthplace was probably some island in the Egean sea, or on the coast of Asia Minor.

The writer of the **Migrations of the Hittites** unfolds his plan of tracing the wandering of the Hamite family (which he holds to be Pelasgian) across Europe, and establishes the fact that the Cappadocians were the Hittites.  
[No. 4 of *Fourth Series*.]

docians, the Etruscans, both families of the latter, are of the old Hittite stock. This chapter is full of interesting details, chiefly of a philological and ethnographical character.

The May number (May 21st) opens with the famous Propaganda Decree, of May 3rd last, tolerating the Stillwater and Faribault plan inaugurated by Archbishop Ireland. The *Civiltà* writes nothing of a polemical character after the Roman "tolerari potest," but we regret to notice that writers in America still wax furious over the matter. No doubt theology is good: but after all it might be sometimes tempered with that judicious bearing which ought to spring from the knowledge of the value of legal decisions guiding ecclesiastical polity. In the **Archæological Notes** we have the full text of the **Contra Aleatores** promised in the March number,—where it was stated that it was the opusculum of a Pope—probably S. Victor, A.D. 189, successor to S. Eleutherius. The chronology here is somewhat confused, but it has no great importance as regards the opusculum. It is worth while to notice a few important points prescinding from the subject matter of dicing. It opens with a profession of papal supremacy as the exordium.\* "A great anxiety weighs upon us—the burden of the **"entire brotherhood.** It is increased by the waywardness of **"abandoned men—the dicers.** They drive men to wickedness, and **"plunge themselves into perdition.** To us the Divine and Fatherly **"mercy of God conferred the leadership of the Apostolic ministry.** **"and in us founded the See of Christ's Vicar in His heavenly** **"condescension, and the source of the Apostolic ministry on which** **"Christ built His Church.** We bear it (in succession) from our **"forerunner" (S. Peter)** **"when we received the power of binding and** **"loosing sin, &c., &c." The writer quotes a text from one of the lost Epistles of St. Paul to the Corinthians, as follows: "If a brother lives like a Gentile, and does as they do, shun his company. Unless you do this you shall be a sharer in his crime."† It is remarkable that the *Διδαχὴ τῶν Ἀποστόλων* is quoted in the same way, just as if it was reputed of the same authority as the inspired Scriptures.**

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\* We beg to append the original text—"Magna nobis ob universam fraternitatem cura est fideles, maxime et rea perditorum hominum audacia, idest Aleatorum: animas in nequitiam, se in lacum mortis demergunt. Et quoniam in nobis divina et paterna pietas Apostolatus ducatum contulit, et vicariam Domini sedem coelesti dignatione ordinavit, et originem authenticum Apostolatus super quem Christus Fundavit Ecclesiam in superiore nostre portamus accepta simul potestate solvendi ac ligandi et curatione peccatorum demittendi: solutari doctrina admonemur," &c., &c., &c.

† "Quicumque frater more alienigenarum vivit et admittit res similes factis eorum, desine in convictum eius esse: quod nisi feceris et tu particeps eius eris."

Did the impression prevail at any time among the early Christians that the "Doctrines of the Apostles" was inspired? That many inspired writings were lost is admitted on all hands, and that apocryphal documents were floating about in various quarters is well known, and that before the canon took shape various notions prevailed about what was inspired and what was not, but so far we have no evidence that we know of what was the view of the learned Christian mind, say at the beginning of the third century, on the inspiration or non-inspiration of the "Doctrines."

The large proportion of articles in the *Civiltà* dealing with errors of atheistic kind creates a very unfavourable impression of the unsoundness of academic studies in many of the Italian Universities. To this we must add ethical theories about Governments, the rights of individuals, &c., their names suffice—**The Brain and Society**, by Professor Bianchi, is materialistic; **Human Reason and Law**, by Professor Barbera, is undiluted Atheism. Both these are inaugural addresses by University Professors. Then such articles as **Freemasonry and Anarchy**, **Religion and Politics**, **Masonic Third-Order** help us to realize how very sick is the Land of the Madonna."

DON ABBONDIO.

## GERMANY.

BY CANON BELLESHEIM OF AACHEN.

**Katholik.**—The July issue contains an explanation of the Papal letter addressed to the Catholics of France, and an article on Christology as taught to-day in the German Universities, mostly at Strasbourg, Göttingen, Giesen, Erlangen, Leipzig, and Berlin. It is not our purpose to enter into the various systems adopted by Protestant professors of Theology in their explanation of the person and life of our Lord. It is enough to remark that the unity of person in our Lord is denied. F. Hornsburch, not content in showing the weakness of the systems, devotes an entire chapter to the Catholic doctrine of the Divinity of Christ. Dr. Schieler continues his studies on the liturgy of the Mass; and Dr. Holly on the devotion to our Lady as contained in the hymns of the early Christian centuries. The writer contributes a sketch of the labours and literary work of the present Archbishop of Westminster.

In the August number, Canon Stöckl, of Eickslatt, whose writings are often quoted in "Manuals of Catholic Philosophy," has an able article on "Religion and Science," in which he shows that no conflict



exists between them. Religion, by its very nature, stirs men to devote themselves to the cultivation of the various departments of science, and acts at the same time as a safeguard from error. In the same issue the writer has a historical sketch of Cardinal Manning, from his elevation to the purple to the celebration of his jubilee as Archbishop in 1890.

**Historisch-politische Blaetter.**—M. L'Abbé Paulus, of Munich contributes an article on the learned Dominican, F. Pelargus, who, at the beginning of the Reformation, wrote powerfully in vindication of the Catholic Church. F. Zimmermann has a notice somewhat severe but deservedly so, on E. G. Beesly's "Queen Elizabeth." There is also a brief review of a short life of the late Queen Mary of Bavaria, who became a Catholic after hearing a sermon on the authority of the Church.

In August we have an able article from F. Zimmermann on the social reforms of England and the laws enacted for the protection of children. Based on the best and most trustworthy authorities in history and economics, the article describes the English labourers in our century, and examines the persistent efforts made for the bettering of their lot. Cardinal Manning and the Rev. Benjamin Waugh are mostly responsible for what has been done for the children. We have in another article a very interesting sketch of the life of Fr. Boniface Gams, O.S.B., who died last May, and who, in his ecclesiastical history, has left behind a worthy monument. His five volumes devoted to the history of the Church in Spain, the result of his sojourn in that country, and his researches of her libraries, deserves to be specially mentioned. But perhaps the work by which he will be best known is his "Series-Episcoporum," in which he gives the accurate dates of the Episcopate from S. Peter to our own times. L'Abbe Paulus in his able article on "Bossuet as an historian of Protestantism," deals with a question affecting both dogmatic theology and Church history. He also shows that Bossuet was almost as great a church historian as a controversialist. The writer contributes an article on Vol. II. of "Cardinal Hosius' Letters," edited by Canon Kipler, of Frauenburg, and Prof. Dr. Zakrzeuski, of the University of Cracow. These letters number ten thousand, and will probably take up five volumes. They are valuable in helping us to understand more perfectly the character of the Reformation, and the course it took in Eastern Germany and Poland. The editors have done their work well.

**Stimmen aus Maria-Laach.**—Volume XLIII. opens with an

article on Cremation, by Fr. Perger. Fr. Hagen writes on Ptolemy's system on the sun. Fr. Kreilen has articles on Blasius Pascal. Fr. Mülf contributes an hitherto unpublished article of the late Dr. Illinger, on the higher schools in Bavaria. Fr. Henry Pesch expatiates on the "greatest error of liberal economics."

**Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie.** (Innsbruck).—In the July number Father Baeumer, of Beuron, contributes a valuable paper on the Stowe Missal. This celebrated liturgical document is said to date from the sixth century. The present MS. was written in 777—640, and in the eighth century many interpolations were introduced. F. Baeumer is of opinion that the interpolator's aim was to make the prayers of the Mass more national. As a liturgical document F. Baeumer regards the Stowe Missal as second none in the Western Church.

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## Notices of Books.

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### Month of May.

**The Principal Truths of our Holy Religion.** From the French. By Rev. THOMAS F. WARD, Rector of the Church of St. Charles, Borromeo, Brooklyn, N.Y. 8vo., pp. 184. New York: Benziger Brothers.

THE plan of the latter book is fifty-two short instructions. They are intended as helps to the clergy, or for private reading. Each instruction is calculated not to occupy more than fifteen minutes, and is capable of development for a longer discourse. In construction they are very methodical. They treat of many subjects which are not touched on in other helps to preachers; but their best recommendation is that the matter and style is quite modern, neither French nor Yankee, and suited for present day English congregations. The price of the book is probably about three shillings.

"The Month of May," by the same author, also consists of thirty-two courses—thirty-two for the month—similar in length and arrangement to those on "The Truths of our Religion." The translator has given an English dress to the French form, and we think, with him, that they will be helpful to priests when preparing to speak before societies and confraternities of the Blessed Virgin. The price of the book, in good, large type, is three shillings.

**Œuvres de Saint François de Sales, Evêque de Genève et Docteur de l'Eglise.** Edition complète d'après les autographes et les éditions originales, enrichie de nombreuses pièces inédites. Tome I. LES CONTROVERSES. Annecy, Imprimerie J. Nierat, 1892.

MANY of our readers may already be aware that the Sisters of the Visitation, of Annecy, have undertaken the gigantic task of an entirely new and independent French text of the complete works of St. Francis de Sales. We have now before us the initial volume of an edition which promises to be of the first importance as regards both religion and literature. No doubt it was the recent elevation of the great spiritual Director to the rank of Doctor of the Universal Church (decreed by Pope Leo XIII., Nov. 16th, 1877) which first suggested the idea of a new edition of his writings. But many other reasons have concurred. Quite recently, more than one manuscript of great value has come to light, such as the text of the "Controverses" discovered by Canon Mackey in the Chigi library at Rome, and used by him in the excellent translation published by him a few years since and entitled "The Catholic Controversy." All who have followed Canon Mackey's preface to that translation are aware that the French text of the "Controverses" as hitherto published, represents very badly indeed what St. Francis wrote. And this is the case with many other of his works. Former editions have indeed reproduced with fair accuracy the volumes which the Holy Doctor himself sent to the press in his lifetime. But he himself has not printed more than a quarter of what he actually wrote. Many of his treatises are still in manuscript; and very few of his posthumous works have been properly compared with the originals. The Saint's spiritual daughters at Annecy, successors of the first Mothers of the Visitation, are in possession of by far the largest collection of his own autograph writings and of other manuscripts of his works which exists in Europe. These precious possessions were originally deposited in their hands, and, in spite of many adverse circumstances, very much still remains with them. Moreover, for some three centuries, all the Houses of the Visitation have been collecting with the utmost veneration every fragment that could be heard of, relating to their venerated Founder. Now, therefore, with the sanction and warm approval of Mgr. Isoard, Bishop of Annecy, and with the help of first class experts (among whom it is betraying no secret to name Canon H. B. Mackey, of the English Benedictines) the great work has been auspiciously begun. The Holy Father sent a Brief of approval and encouragement in April of the present year;

and the first volume of the new edition, the "Controverses" is now before us.

The volume begins with the Brief of the Holy Father, and the very encouraging letter of the Bishop of Annecy, in the course of which the principal editor is thus referred to :—

A religious was prepared with a long preparation for this difficult enterprise. From his earliest youth, he began to translate writings of St. Francis of Sales into his English mother-tongue. Soon he made his religious profession in the English Benedictine Congregation at Douai, in the Diocese of Cambrai. He acquired that erudition and that width and breadth of learning which have for many centuries secured for the sons of St. Benedict a unique place in literature and historical science. Dom Benedict Mackey, Canon of the Cathedral Church of Newport, has been authorised by his superiors and by his Lordship the Bishop of Newport, to reside at Annecy, and to consecrate himself entirely to this definitive edition. . . . Divine Providence has deigned to give Dom Benedict Mackey a valuable auxiliary in the bringing out of the treatise which is entitled *Les Controverses*, as to which there are special difficulties. His brother, the Rev. Father Peter Paul Mackey, of the Order of St. Dominic, had been called to Rome by our Holy Father, Pope Leo XIII., to take part in the monumental edition called the Leonine, of St. Thomas of Aquin. He has taken great interest in his brother's work, and has been fortunate enough to find the original text of the *Controverses*. The MS. is preserved by the family of Prince Chigi (at Rome). During many months, the learned Dominican devoted himself to copying out and reproducing in what may almost be called *fac-simile* the pages of a treatise, which is of the utmost value in the religious history of the sixteenth century. It was a work which demanded patience and intelligence in equal degrees, and it will be of the utmost service to theologians and historians. Thanks to it, this edition has the singular merit of giving the *Controverses*, just as they were written by the Saint, with all his corrections and *variantes*, so that the reader is able to trace and follow the very course of his thoughts and ideas as he composed. (xxvi.)

The *Controverses*, as most of our readers will know, are the controversial notes made and published by St. Francis during the time he was occupied in the conversion of the Chablais. Composed for the most part in the midst of constant work, written out on any scrap of paper that came to hand, and intended for distribution, but never printed till after his death, this treatise is nevertheless very complete, and bears on every page the impress of accurate reading and of the most thorough comprehension of the requirements of those for whom he wrote. It is, in most respects, as reasonable at the present day as it was at the end of the sixteenth century. The treatment of the question of the Papacy is especially full and striking; and the editors have done new and excellent work by verifying the innumerable references to the Fathers of the Church, and proving how absolutely true and correct the holy doctor is whenever he quotes history or authority. The celebrated catalogue of *encomia* of the Papacy, compiled from the Fathers,



given at page 295 seq., comes out with the most convincing force, thanks to the corrections supplied by the original MS. and the patient researches of the editors. The very remarkable testimony of St. Francis to the Infallibility of St. Peter's successors, which is referred to in the Bull of the Doctorate, is reprinted in *fac-simile* at the beginning of the volume. The materials of the *Controverses* seem to have been worked up by the writer in different forms, as new ideas suggested themselves; hence some of it appears in the present re-issue with "variations" of considerable interest. But the fact that will naturally be considered of the greatest moment both by theologians, by historians, and by philologists, is that a most remarkable "restoration" has now been effected. The first editor was Léonard, of Paris, in whose hands a copy was placed for publication in 1672—fifty years after the Saint's death. There is, in his edition, not a single page or half-page which does not contain serious omissions, additions, and alterations. Among these occurs the substitution of the words "*confirmateur permanent*" for "*confirmateur infallible*," in the celebrated passage (p. 11, ch. vi., art 14) on the authority of the Holy See! The verbal changes are innumerable, we are told by those who have compared the text that the "terse, vigorous, and personal sixteenth century language of the man of genius is buried under the trivial manner of the everyday writer employed by Léonard." The quotations are garbled, and the references to the Fathers are nearly always wrong. Blaise's edition of 1821 is little more than a reprint of Léonard, with a Gallican commentary added, though it is curious that Blaise printed, in 1833, the section on Papal Authority as originally written by St. Francis. What he did for this small portion has now been done for the entire work, and, thanks chiefly to the MS. in the Chigi Library, transcribed by the Rev. Father Peter Paul Mackey, O.P., we have not only the *ipsissima verba* of a great Saint and a masterpiece of controversy, but a most remarkable historical and philological monument of a century in which the French tongue first began to be a great language.

We have already referred to the painstaking verification of references which distinguishes this edition. It may be added that Dom Mackey has made not a few extremely felicitous emendations of the text, in places where the autograph of the Saint is wanting. The unrecognisable forms, "Vellenger," "Tesanzaus," and "Tanzuelius," become "Bullinger," "Jehan Hus," and "Zuinglius," whilst "vermeriques," which has puzzled everybody, turns out to be "Suermericos," a favourite word of Cochlieus, probably from *schwärmerei*, and meaning "fanatic."

**The Teaching of Jesus.** By HANS HINRICH WENDT, D.D.  
Translated by Rev. John Wilson, D.D. Two vols. 8vo.  
pp. 408. Edinburgh: Clark. 10s. 6d.

ONLY the first volume of Dr. Wendt's "Teaching of Jesus" has yet appeared. The book has been received with eulogy by some. On a careful perusal it is hard to see where the grounds for this laudation exist. In passing judgment on a work like the one before us, the Catholic critic must distinguish between its matter and its manner. With regard to the matter no Catholic, nor indeed, any one who believes in the Divinity of Christ can agree with the author's conclusions. The translator adopts an apologetic tone in his preface with regard to the uncompromising tone of Rationalism displayed by the author. He says, p. 10, "It is almost inevitable in applying the method of historical criticism to this great subject that many readers should at first be unpleasantly impressed with a certain naturalistic tone and tendency. By a "tone and tendency" the translator means that the scriptures of the Old Testament furnished the foundation to Christ for "His religious persuasions" p. 92, "he who was revealed to Jesus in the scriptures was the Father in Heaven." It was the scriptures which revealed to Him "the fatherly love of God." Christ "had always felt Himself in a relation of sonship to God; certainly this feeling had grown within Him gradually and had widened and deepened." "The knowledge that He was called by God to be the Messiah of the new kingdom did not lie ready to hand for Him long before He entered on His Messianic work." "At the moment when Jesus underwent the baptism of John, He received the revelation which imparted to Him His Messianic consciousness." "Whilst hitherto Jesus had been conscious of no peculiar excellence which exalted Him above others in respect to His religious views, experiences, and acts." "That the temptation followed upon the baptism is a strong confirmation of the view that Jesus for the first time suddenly received at baptism the consciousness of His Messiahship." And at p. 203 the author says "here also the name of Father is the ordinary designation of God; and indeed Jesus employs this name *first of all*, though by no means *only*, in the sense of designating Him as His own Father. His Father to whom He knew Himself bound by a mutual relationship of love is also *the* father of all." The italics are not ours. Many similar sentences might be quoted to show that the "tone and tendency" of the writer was to represent Christ as a prophet, the greatest of the prophets perhaps, but still a mere man with all the imitations incidental to purely human nature.

With regard to the style and arrangement of the book we are sorry to be compelled to withhold any word of commendation. The obscurity and heaviness of this class of literature in the original German form a task too great for almost any translator. The stilted cumbrous sentence, which when analysed contains only a platitude is not to be ascribed to the translator. Mr. Wilson has done all that a man could do to render our author intelligible in an English dress. The work makes no addition to our knowledge of Holy Scriptures. The mechanical portion of the work, type, paper, binding, &c., is all that could be desired. P. LYNCH.

**The Foundations of Faith**, considered in eight sermons preached before the University of Oxford in 1879. Bampton Lectures. By Henry Wace, D.D. Large 8vo. pp. xii.—398. London: John Murray. 7s. 6d.

IN Dr. Wace's Bampton Lectures on "The Foundations of Faith," we have trenchant criticisms on the Rationalistic attacks on Revelation, but on the other hand the foundations laid for faith seem involved in some obscurity. Instead of showing that the existence of God is a truth that can and must be clearly proved by reason, the author says "It is natural man should believe in a personal God . . . without reasons, and by the instinct of nature." (p. 49.) Immediately afterwards, St. Paul's proof of the Invisible God from visible nature is mentioned, but then we read "When men . . . seek to rise by mere mental abstraction from the phenomena of the external universe to the one Reality which is before all things, and by which all things consist, the resulting conception has of necessity been something vast, vague, and intangible." (p. 57.)

Revelation is truly said to come to us through the Prophets and Apostles. But when we look in these pages for an indication of a certain guide to teach all men at all times, we are again in uncertainty. In the last lecture we read "Though we cannot appeal to any visible and infallible authority, we do possess an unerring guidance . . . in the voice of a Divine Spirit ever present with us." (p. 210.) "To acquire a comprehensive appreciation of Christian truth, a man must diligently cultivate communion with other Christians, must believe that they all have some message for him, and can display to him some gleams of his Master's truth and grace." (p. 215.) This is an idea of the system substituted for the Catholic infallible authority, to which objection is made on the following grounds: "If

the Roman Church is to have any valid claim on us, we must already, on grounds prior to her authority, have accepted belief in God, belief in the fact of His having revealed His will to us by Prophets and Apostles, and belief in His Incarnation in the person of Jesus Christ. These immense acts of faith must have been made before the Roman Catholic claims can have so much as an intelligible foundation on which to rest." (p. 200.) This is misrepresenting the position of the Church, and the misrepresentation chiefly rests on the failure to distinguish between what we know and what we believe. Reason without revelation, besides proving the existence of God, can show that Christ was the messenger sent by God to teach men, and that Christ instituted a living authority to preach His doctrine until the consummation of the world. The doctrines taught contain truths beyond the power of reason to understand, but none which reason can prove impossible.

D. ILES.

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**Pre-Tridentine Doctrine.** A review of the Commentary on the Scriptures of Thomas de Vio, Cardinal of St. Xystus, commonly called Cardinal Cajetan. By ROBERT C. JENKYNs, M.A. London: David Nutt, 1891.

IT hardly seems to be of any use to review such a book as this. Mr. Jenkyns seems to belong to that low evangelical school of Anglicans whose theological equipment consists in shouting out "Justification by Faith" and "Christ the only Mediator." These are cries which are unimpeachable in themselves, but they do not explain the whole science of Redemption. Mr. Jenkyns thinks they do. Hence he further holds the Pope to be Anti-Christ; he "starts," "shudders," and experiences similar emotions at the very idea of "Papal authority," "works of supererogation," "purgatorial indulgences," "mere motions," "plenitude of power," "antiphonal methods," "extravagants," and the Bull *Unigenitus*! His purpose in this volume appears to be to show that Cardinal Cajetan was not so very far from being an Anglican; nay, that if the Cardinal and one or two others that he mentions had sat in the Council of Trent, that Council would have resulted in the thirty-nine articles instead of what we know. This absurd view is enforced by a desultory examination of Cajetan's Commentaries on the Old and New Testaments. Considering that Cardinal Cajetan, as Mr. Jenkyns confesses, held most firmly and distinctly the Catholic belief of the Real Presence, the Sacrifice of the Mass, and the supremacy of the



Pope, he does not seem a very promising subject for an Anglican to patronise. The writer endeavours to make out, however, that Cajetan's opinions on justification were those of the Book of Common Prayer, and for this purpose he places certain statements contained in the Homily on "Salvation," side by side with statements of the Cardinal's Commentary on Romans. The similarity of expression is striking, and, as Mr. Jenkyns asserts, the Homily may have been drawn up with Cajetan's words in view. But Mr. Jenkyns knows as well as we do that this Homily, as far as he quotes it, is capable of a Catholic sense; he knows also that the authoritative teaching of the Anglican Church—if the expression be not an absurdity—is found in the naked profession of justification by Faith alone, and of "imputation," contained in the eleventh of the *Articles*, and that Cajetan has distinctly repudiated these doctrines in the sense of Luther. It is simply dishonest, therefore, to pretend that the Cardinal was "Anglican" on these heads. The truth is, Cajetan would have made himself clearer had he lived to take part in the Council of Trent. The subject of "imputed" justice is a very complicated one, and, before the Council, some theologians who utterly rejected "imputations" in Luther's sense were not clear that even after true justification some kind of further application of Christ's merit, was not necessary for our good actions to be meritorious. Any reader who wishes to see Mr. Jenkyn's ignorant floundering exposed should read the discussion in the "*Quæstiones Disputatæ*" of Father Laiñez, lately edited by Father Grisar, of Innsbruck. But we do not think the book will do any harm. A writer who thinks (see p. 39) that because Cajetan holds the Church has no "jurisdiction" over the souls in purgatory—as all Catholic writers hold—therefore there is no such thing as helping the suffering souls, need not be argued with. He could not even understand us if we told him it was "*per modum suffragii*." He cannot even be accurate in matters of fact—as when he talks about the "Lateran Council in 1860, which established the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception" (p. 4). That doctrine was defined in 1854, and there has not been a Council of Lateran for six or seven centuries. Mr. Jenkyns says he began with Cajetan fifty-five years ago. If so, he is probably too old now to find out what a mess he has made of him.

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**Religion.** Par G. DE MOLINARI. Deuxième édition, augmentée d'un aperçu de l' "Avenir des Religions." 8vo. pp. 370. Paris: Guillaumin et Cie. 1892. 3 fcs. 50 c.

THE attitude of unbelievers towards religion has undergone a marvellous change since the last century. At that time it was their custom to look upon it as the monstrous offspring of the ignorance of the multitude and the infamy of the priests, and as the fruitful source of all the misery that the world had seen. To come to any sort of terms with it was impossible. Only one course was open, and that was to ruthlessly exterminate it. Nowadays religion is recognised as one of the most interesting phenomena of nature, and is studied with the utmost care, and with at least some approach to impartiality. The modern scientist scorns the old *à priori* method of denying religious facts simply because they are religious. As in other branches of inquiry, so here, too, he scrupulously examines the evidence, and when he is satisfied with its force he admits that the phenomena are facts requiring to be dealt with. Their abnormal character does not disturb him. He reflects how one after another of the "extra-natural" domains has been brought within the reign of law, and he has no doubt that the outlying portions will ultimately meet with annexation. He readily acknowledges that religion has been a potent factor in the evolution of our race. He points out how, in the fierce struggles for existence, the victory has gone to the God-fearing. Above all, he expresses unbounded admiration for the Catholic Church as the masterpiece of human skill. Shallow religious persons are often deceived by this patronage. But the new method is in truth far more dangerous than the old. We are no longer threatened with persecution, but with explanation. It is not the rack and the axe that we have to meet, but the dissecting-knife and the test-tube.

M. de Molinari, who is well-known for his numerous writings on political economy, would no doubt be much offended if he were described as a deadly foe of religion. He would point with mingled indignation and triumph to the very first words of his little volume:

That religion answers to a natural need; that it is as indestructible as this need; that it has been, that it is, and that it will continue to be a necessary instrument of stability and progress, . . . these are the views which we have endeavoured to enunciate in this book.

Yet the book, which is indeed a model of clearness and precision, is nothing but a naturalistic explanation of the origin and growth of every religious notion. True, M. de Molinari says that he believes in God and the immortality of the soul. But what sort of God?

What sort of soul ? What sort of immortality ? Nothing is easier than to use these old words with very new meanings. If M. de Molinari were to compose a new catechism, he would keep much of the old one. His opening chapter would begin thus :

Do you believe in God ?

I do.

Who made God ?

Man.

Why did Man make God ?

Because Man's nature required him to do so.

To whose image and likeness did Man make God ?

Man made God to his own image and likeness.

And so on It is only a simple Gretchen who would say :

Das ist alles recht schoen und gut ;  
Ungefähr sagt das der Pfarrer auch,  
Nur mit ein bischen andern Worten.

But M. de Molinari is not satisfied with accounting for the origin of religious ideas. Your modern scientist is nothing if not a prophet ; he knows not only what is and what has been, but also what is to be. Accordingly we have some seventy pages dedicated to the "Future of Religion." Devout men will be gratified to learn that M. de Molinari is full of hope. The progress of science, so far from injuring religion, will elevate, purify, and strengthen it. But note this well. The essential condition of this happy consummation is *the entire separation of Church and State*. So in the end this scientific enquiry turns out to be nothing but a political pamphlet. M. de Molinari hopes to win over the Catholics by his arguments. Surely he must think very meanly of them if he imagines that they are likely to accept him as their adviser. After all there is something to be said for the methods of our older antagonists. They made no secret of their hostility, they openly attacked us. For choice one would surely rather fall in battle or lay one's head on the block, than be inveigled into the dissecting-room in the interest of science.

T. B. SCANNELL.

### **Declarations and Letters on the Vatican Decrees, 1869-1887.**

By IGNAZ VON DÖLLINGER. Authorised translation. Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark, 1891.

**T**HIS is an interesting, but to all Catholics a melancholy book. It contains the last utterances which will ever be given to the world of a man whose personality and achievements must always appeal to the sympathy and the regret even of those who most firmly disagree with the heretical temper in which he died. Dr. Reusch, of Bonn, has collected from among the papers found after

his death, twenty or thirty documents, varying very much in length, bearing upon Döllinger's attitude to the Decree of July 18th, 1870, on the Infallibility of the Sovereign Pontiff. First of all we have three articles on the Council, published previously to the Decree in the *Allgemeine Zeitung*. Next come the warning letters of Archbishop Scherr, of Munich, with Döllinger's replies, one of them (dated March 28, 1871) being an elaborate re-statement of his position. The formal documents of the ordinariate of Munich, declaring him heretical and excommunicate, and forbidding all Catholic students to attend his lectures, follow in order. The rest of the volume is made up of letters from various persons, such as Archbishop von Steichele (who succeeded Archbishop Scherr), Bishop Hefele, a lady of rank, and Monsignor Ruffo-Scilla (nuncio at Munich), with such letters as Döllinger wrote in reply. The position of the latter is exceedingly simple. He says he has investigated the subject historically from every point of view, ever since 1836, and he is "convinced" that the Vatican Decree is contradictory to facts; he cannot possibly, therefore, accept it. In the letter of March 28th, 1871, to which we have referred, he goes into details, and repeats a good deal of what is familiar to readers about Pope Honorius and other matters. Students know that as there are two sides to the Honorius question, so there are two sides to all the other anti-infallibilist citations; and it will always be a mystery how a man like this learned German if he believed that there are questions in which the Church must decide or else there would be no use in having a Church, could so obstinately take his stand on his own reading of history in the face of an Ecumenical Decree. The truth forces itself upon any one who reads these letters, that Döllinger had ceased to be a Catholic even before 1870. For he did not believe even in the inerrancy of the Church. He says expressly, here, that no Council is infallible unless the Church accepts its decisions; and by the Church he means the *sanior pars* of the Church; and what the *sanior pars* is, has to be decided by learned men and historians. Let us just imagine the effect of a theory like this on the controversies of the fourth century! But that this was Döllinger's settled view we defy any one to call in question who reads pp. 53 seq. of this volume. No one who holds an opinion which reduces the idea of an "Ecclesia docens" to an absurdity can be said to belong to the Catholic Church.

But it may be permitted to doubt whether Döllinger was not to a certain degree either wilfully blind or woefully prejudiced on



the whole subject. He repeatedly joins together the "infallibility and *omnipotence*" of the Pope, and alludes to this "omnipotence," "boundless universal sovereignty," and "universal dominion and dictatorship," as conferred on him by the Vatican Council. To make such an assertion is most misleading, for it confirms the common Protestant sneer that Catholics believe the Pope can do as he likes. No fair-minded man would use such expressions, much less rest his whole case upon them. Then, the constantly recurring bitterness with which he alludes to the Jesuits suggests the *idée fixe* of a man who lives in his study among phantoms of his own brain. He cherishes, moreover, that vivid sense of personal injury which often characterizes the recluse. The Roman Council and the Archbishop's officials are stated to be discourteous, ignorant and unjust; they "goad on the hatred of the people" against him (p. 154), so that the "chief of police actually warns" him to be on his guard, as he knows that an act of violence is going to be perpetrated on him (!); the clerical press receives *carte blanche* against him; people would "be astonished" if they knew how he had been denounced at Rome, and so forth. When he is implored by friends to re-consider his position and to submit, he asks with indignation what the world would think of him if he did. He repeats that, as he is excommunicated, it is well known that the Popes would consider it quite lawful for anyone to kill him! He has the assurance, in one passage, to drag in the name of Newman, and to assert that Leo XIII. would never have made him cardinal if he had known his real opinions. And he is constantly stating that everyone to whom he speaks thinks just as he thinks himself, and dares not avow it. What in the world was there to prevent people joining him if they chose? A few did, as we know; they had the applause of all the Protestants and Freethinkers of Europe, and of everyone who hated the Catholic Church. But after all, as Monsignor Ruffo-Scilla reminds him in his touching letter, he remained an "isolated" man; and, although he has done only too much harm to the cause of Christ, an "isolated" man he will remain in history.

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**Kirchen-Lexicon von Wetzer und Welte.** Neue Auflage durch Cardinal HERGENROETHER und Professor KAULEN, Band VII. Freiburg: Herder. 1891.

VOLUME VI. of this monumental work was duly noticed in the DUBLIN REVIEW, October, 1890. The zeal of both the editors and contributors is to be credited with the publication

of the present volume comprising the articles reaching from *Kaaba* to *Litanei*. Soon after the last volume reached us we had to deplore the death of the illustrious Prince of the Church under whose editorship the new undertaking was started. Now the work will be continued by Professor Kaulen, to whom we may trust for the lasting success of the work. For breadth of view, critical acumen, vastness and solidity of learning and staunch Catholic principles, the new edition of the *Kirchenlexicon* calls for unqualified admiration. In the department of philosophy we wish to point out the two articles on "Kant," by Professor von Hertling, and "Liberalism," by F. Gruber, S.J. "Return to Kant" is the war-cry in not a few philosophical quarters in Germany. Hence for Catholics the solemn duty of sifting the principles of the philosopher of Königsberg, whose destructive system saps the very foundations of our natural knowledge. F. Gruber's contribution will amply repay study. It is a powerful criticism of what we commonly term "Liberalism" as a system. Its recondite principles and remotest ramifications are examined and put to the test of Christian social philosophy and divine revelation. In dogmatic theology we meet the momentous articles on Church, contributed by Professor Schanz, of Tübingen, whose Christian apology has been lately presented to English Catholics in a readable version by Professor Schobel and Fr. Glancey. The interesting articles on "Katechisms" and "Katechetik," are written by Canon Knecht, Freiburg. A pithy article on "War," based on Christian philosophy, is due to F. H. Pesch, S.J. Amongst the names of the Sovereign Pontiffs occur Liberius and Leo. The article on Liberius is in learning and critical acumen what might be looked for from F. Grisar, S.J., who for many years has been devoting himself in Rome exclusively to the study of the history of the ancient Roman Church. Brimful of learning and piety is Fr. Pfülf's, S.J., article on "Konrad of Marburg," St. Elizabeth's Confessor. English Catholic readers will study it all the more eagerly since the too famous painting in the London Academy of 1891 has so unfortunately dragged that zealous man before the public. The articles on Kilwardby, Knox, Latimer, and Laud were contributed by myself, whilst to modern ecclesiastical history belongs the thoughtful article of P. Zimmermann, S.J., on "Lingard." Let us mention, too, the article "*Liber pontificalis*," by Professor Funk. It is based on the new edition of this work by Professor Duchesne, of the Paris. Most of the articles treating subjects connected with sacred liturgy are contributed by

F. Bäumer O.S.B., of Beuron. In concluding our few remarks, we wish the laborious, but not less meritorious, undertaking a hearty God-speed. B.

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**Die gottgeweihten Jungfrauen in den ersten Jahrhunderten der Kirche nach den patristischen Quellen und den Grabdenkmalern dargestellt.** Von JOSEPH WILPERT, Freiburg, Herder, 1892.

CANON BROWNLOW'S able article on "Recent Discoveries in the Cemetery of St. Priscilla," which follows the writer's notice of Mgr. Wilpert's "Ein Cyklus Christlicher Gemalde" in the July issue of the "DUBLIN REVIEW" (p. 229), is an acknowledgment of Wilpert's ability in dealing with the catacombs. In the work before us we have another proof of his grasp of Patristic science and Christian Archæology. Wilpert, in referring to the subject, gives us the words of Commendatore Giovanni de Rossi, addressed to him—"You have selected for your studies the most delicate part of Christian Archæology." Familiar as Wilpert appears to be with the works of the Fathers, we are even more impressed with his enterprise and success in bringing to light, and reproducing by drawings, photographs, and explanations, the paintings in the catacombs. The work contains five large tables of several pictures, inscriptions, and sarcophagi. The one representing the tomb of St. Priscilla is a masterpiece, and according to de Rossi is the best reproduction of an ancient Christian picture published. In the first part of the work we have nine chapters devoted to the doctrine of sacred virginity as taught by the early Fathers. The author has successfully shown in these pages the identity of the Catholic Church of to-day with primitive Christianity. The second part deals with such paintings and inscriptions as relate to virgins. We may instance as one of the most remarkable, the inscription composed by Damasus, before his elevation to the chair of Peter, on his Sister Irene. A part of the original was found in 1880 near the Basilica of SS. Cosmas and Damian in Rome. At the request of de Rossi, Mgr. Wilpert undertook to supplement the missing words. Archæologists will find this work worthy of careful perusal.

BELLESHEIM.

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**Josephi Fessler, quondam Episcopi S. Hippoliti.** Institutiones Patrologiae, quas denuo recensuit, auxit, edidit BERNARDUS JUNGSMANN, Prof. Hist. Eccl. in Univers. Cath. Lovan. Oeniponte, Rauch, 1892.

THE first volume of the new classical edition of this text-book was noticed in October, 1890 (p. 489). After an interval of two years, the editor, partly in answer to many requests, has brought out the first part of vol. ii. The work before us is taken up with the lives and literary labours of the Fathers who adorned the Church in the fifth century. The book contains analyses of the works of the Fathers, to which are attached indices of the principal Catholic doctrines they indicate, as well as attractive pictures of their character. Chapter v. deals with those Fathers of the fourth and fifth centuries, who devoted themselves to the explanation of Holy Scripture. St. Ephrem and St. Chrysostom occupy the greater portion, and the works of the former which have recently been brought to light by Professor Lamy, in the British Museum, are dwelt on. Chapter i. treats of those Fathers who combatted the Novatianists, Donatists, and Pelagians. The treatise on St. Augustine deserves special commendation. Prof. Jungsmann, whilst not holding Priscillian responsible for all heresies laid to his charge, is, notwithstanding, inclined to believe that his inconsiderate temper afforded occasion for those indictments. The work on the whole well done, and will prove useful to Patristic students.

BELLESHEIM.

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**The Chorister's Vespers Book**, in Latin and English, with the Psalms arranged in sets for the several feasts, hymns, calendar of Vespers, &c. Leamington Art and Book Co. Price 1s. 6d.

THE Leamington Art and Book Company seems to have a constant eye to convenience and order in their publications for use during the services of the Church. For churches that follow the "Ordo" at vespers, this "Chorister's Vespers Book" is certainly the nearest manual of the kind yet published. The type of the Latin is large, and the emphatic notes in every verse of the psalms are strongly marked by large capitals. The English translation is set beneath the Latin. The Latin of the psalms and hymns is taken from the *Editio Typica* of the Breviary, the English of the psalms from the Douay Bible, and that of the hymns from Father Caswall's



"*Lyra Catholica*." The antiphons of the Psalms and Magnificat are not given, but we presume these are intended to be supplied by the priest or cantors from the Breviary. Five minutes' examination of the book will reveal its clearness.

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**Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi.** Hymni inediti. Liturgische Hymnen des Mittelalters herausgegeben von GUIDO DREVES, S.J. XI. XII. Zweite und dritte Folge, Leipzig, Reisland. 1891-92.

SINCE our last notice in the DUBLIN REVIEW (vol. ex., p. 217) the indefatigable editor, Father Dreves, has succeeded in bringing out two other volumes of unpublished hymns of the middle ages. With the exception of a few published by the Rev. J. Stephenson in 1851, among the Surtees Society's publications, Father Dreves is the first to lay before mediævalist scholars the remaining portion of the two volumes. We are presented not merely with a transcription from ancient liturgical works, but with a criticism of the hymns based on a sound knowledge of mediæval poetry. The editor, during a lengthened stay in London and Dublin, was enabled to make a diligent search in the public libraries of the British Metropolis and Trinity College, Dublin. In vol. xi., p. 95, he gives as the sources from which he obtained the hymns on St. Brigid and St. Canice the MS. Antiphonaries of Clondalkin and Kilmore, and a Dublin breviary, both belonging to the fifteenth century, and also an Irish breviary in the Bodleian, Oxford, of the same date. To the large number of hymns on St. Lawrence O'Toole to which we called our readers' attention in a former notice, another is added. There are also hymns relating to St. Patrick, St. Thomas of Canterbury, and St. Thomas of Hereford. The total number of fasciculi amounts to no less than a thousand. Such works as this of Father Dreves possess an international and Catholic character, and should not fail to excite the interest of the general literary public. The get-up is excellent and does credit to the publisher. Father Dreves has promised to show in a special volume the importance of mediæval ecclesiastical poetry in its relation to religion and culture.

A. BELLESHEIM.

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**History of the Jews.** From the earliest times to the present day. By Professor H. GRAEBY. Edited by BELLA LÖWY. Large 8vo. Vol. III., pp. xi.—672. Vol. IV., pp. xi.—752. Vol. V., pp. xi.—784. London: David Nutt. 1892.

A NOTICE of the first two volumes of this work appeared in our January number of this year. The three volumes now before us complete it. It is not a history which will recommend itself to Catholics; first, because it is tinged with a spirit which is very unfair and bitter in what regards the Church, and, next, because the minute details of mediæval and more recent Jewish history into which it enters can never have more than a secondary interest to readers of the annals of the human race. The first of the present volumes begins with A.D. 500, and the last ends with the rise of the Jewish plutocracy during the present half century. In this development the writer calls the "social advance" of the Jews, and the names of Rothschild, Montefiore, Wertheimer, Goldschmidt, and others bring down the curtain with a sense of satisfaction to those who must have followed with very different feelings the sordid and unheroic records of the race from the days of Julian downwards. The translation reads heavily, and has the effect of a photograph which is badly focussed. What can the writer mean by saying that Pope Innocent III. was "the most *thoughtless* and *arbitrary*" of the princes of the Church? What sort of a phrase is "within the precincts of the chair of Peter?" There is an index, but it is by no means complete. The work may do to be placed upon the shelves of a library for reference, but neither its literary quality nor its tone and temper will ever permit it to be taken up for readable reading.

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**Conversion of the Teutonic Race.** By MRS. HOPE, with a preface by The Rev. John B. Dalgairns, of the London Oratory. Two vols. Franks and English. 8vo. pp. 466. Boniface and the Conversion of Germany. pp. xiii.—313. London: Burns & Oates.

THESE two well written volumes by Mrs. Hope will repay perusal. The writer is not content with the history of that spirit of missionary enterprise which won an important section of Europe to the faith, but gives, moreover, a sketch of the previous history of the various peoples with which her work is concerned. This brings out in clearer light the gigantic magnitude of the task accomplished, as well as the immense difficulties in its accomplishment by those champions of the gospel. We may say with truth

that "there were giants in those days." In the first volume Mrs. Hope commences by giving a rapid sketch of the various tribes into which the Teutonic race was divided. Naturally, as we might expect, it is mainly ethnographical. She has drawn abundantly from that immense mass of accurate historical material which the modern scholarship of Germany has laboriously collected regarding the early history of the primitive German people. Their modes of life, systems of law, and religious worship are all faithfully depicted. In strong contrast with the heroism, simplicity, and much natural virtue of the Teuton, though still tainted with the vices of barbarism, stand out the feebleness and corruption of the Roman Empire now tottering to its fall. When the storm at length burst, and the Teutonic tribes formed a portion of those savage races which over-ran Italy, the work of the Church begins to appear. Her mission was to preach the truth to every child of Adam. As in the beginning of creation the spirit of God hovered over the shapeless void, and summoned order out of confusion, so, too, the Church animated and vivified with the same spirit descended into the chaos created by the barbarian invader, summoned light out of darkness, and life out of death. The conquerors were in turn themselves conquered. They were subdued not by the power of the sword but by the mild influence of the law of God. The subtle Greek character by its very quality of subtleness, offered a certain natural obstacle to the faith. Not that Christ was unable to subdue and retain in His Church even still more untoward materials, but they always retained a hankering after heresy. The three great heresies of early times, the Arian, Nestorian, and Eutychian, entirely Greek in their origin, so shook the Catholic faith in the East that the final falling away in the days of Photius was a conclusion we might naturally expect. The spirit of reverence in the Teutonic mind, and its submission to lawful authority, offered a fairer field to the spread of God's kingdom on earth. Hence, though the first preachers of the faith encountered many difficulties, the work was at length accomplished, and the Church was compensated for the loss of the East by her new conquests in the North and West.

There is one feature in the first volume of Mrs. Hope's work which calls for notice. It is the want of historical perspective. It can scarcely be described as a fault, as we do not see how it can well be avoided. The superficial reader may lay aside the book thinking the evils described there were worse than they were in reality, but this is a natural result of the scope of the book. The second volume being mainly an account of the life and work of St. Boniface is free

from this. The life of the great English missionary is a most fascinating one. War has its heroes but so too has the Cross. The two volumes cover such an expanse of ground that we need feel no surprise at occasional very minor historical mistakes. They are very few, it is true, and are to be laid to the charge of the authorities consulted by Mrs. Hope rather than to the writer herself. There is one sentence in Father Dalgairns' preface regarding St. Columban to which we take exception. The statement there made is not borne out by facts. The work contains such a mass of valuable historical material, that an index to each of the volumes would be a boon to the student. They are too useful to be read once and then laid aside. We recommend the work strongly. P. L.

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**Lectures on Slavery and Serfdom in Europe.** By W. R. BROWNLOW, Canon of Plymouth. 8vo. pp. xlviii.—243. London: Burns & Oates, 1892.

THIS excellent volume consists of six lectures, delivered before the Natural History Society of Torquay, and now published for the benefit of a wider circle. The leading thought which runs through them is to show that Christianity, wherever it has prevailed, has slowly but all the more surely destroyed slavery; that we may confidently hope the same beneficent influence will end by abolishing this great social curse everywhere, and will deal in the same way with the social problems which now trouble us.

The first lecture describes slavery as it existed in the Roman Empire when Christianity arose. A very forcible account is given of the evils which this institution had entailed on the free labourers, on the rich slave owners, and on the slaves themselves; and the picture is dark indeed, though not more so than that drawn by other authors. It is interesting to learn from the introduction that Cardinal Newman considered our author had trusted too much to the moralists and satirists of antiquity, and had over-estimated the ill effects of slavery as a whole; such ample evidence is, however, given in the volume before us for every statement made that it is hard to see there can be any error.

The rapid decline and practical abolition of slavery has been attributed by all serious historians to Christianity alone, and our author very skilfully traces the way in which this tremendous though silent revolution was effected. Christianity never ceased to preach patience and submission to the slave; but she at the same time introduced a new world of principles and practices, which were inconsistent with the existence of slavery. She proclaimed



the supremacy of conscience, and so set a limit to the previously uncontrolled authority of the master; and she proclaimed the duties of each class. She admitted all to an equal participation in the Christian worship and sacraments;—nay, the slave might be a priest, and even a pope, while his master might be only a catechumen. Lastly, the Church recognised the marriage of slaves as equally valid and binding with that of the free. From the very beginning the emancipation of slaves was looked on as one of the most meritorious acts of mercy, and public opinion so completely changed that the last imperial legislation which reached the west denounced slavery as “contrary to natural right.”

Canon Brownlow next goes on to describe the re-introduction of slavery by the barbarian invaders of the Roman Empire, and to show what checks were gradually interposed by the Church in her provincial councils, as soon as she could bring her influence to bear on the elements of the new society. Out of the state of things produced by the fall of Rome the modified form of slavery called serfdom grew up; and the next three lectures deal with the gradual development of this institution throughout Europe, and especially in our own islands. The reader must be referred to the volume for the very intricate details, which are unravelled with great clearness; we can only here mention some of the most important points brought out. The conditions of serfdom differed much in France, England, and Ireland. In the first of these countries emancipation was very gradual, being hardly completed at the Revolution; but the serf retained his hold upon the land, which the English serf, enfranchised earlier, lost, so becoming the direct ancestor of the pauper of to-day. The case of Ireland was yet worse. Our author holds, in opposition to some eminent Celtic historians, that there were no true serfs in that country, but that each sept held the land of the tribe in common, under a chief whom they elected themselves. When the English lords took the place of the native chieftains, all popular control was lost, and the peasantry sank into a worse position than the serfs.

Some interesting details are given of the persistence of slavery in Italy and Spain down to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This arose out of the struggles with the Moors and the Mediterranean pirates; for there was at least this principle firmly impressed on every Catholic nation, that no Christian could be enslaved. In England this was lost sight of, and slavery seems to have been a recognised punishment. Cromwell's wholesale deportation of the Irish to the West Indies is tolerably well-known,

it will be less familiar to many readers that English and Scotch political prisoners were treated to a less extent with the same inominable cruelty. The last lecture deals with the abolition of serfdom throughout Europe, the enfranchisement of this class in Russia in our own times being most fully detailed. Like most others who have studied the subject, Canon Brownlow is inclined to think that the step taken by Alexander II. has not had wholly good results, and he concludes with a caution, not to judge those too hardly who did not see their way in time past to an immediate abolition of serfdom. A reviewer seldom has the pleasant task of bestowing such unreserved praise as we can give to this volume. The choice of the subject, the lucidity with which it is stated, and the learning with which it is treated are all excellent, and make it a model for all similar works. Canon Brownlow modestly disclaims original research, and professes to base his work entirely on such authorities as Allard, Hallam, Seeböhm, and Thorold Rogers. But they have been handled with much judgment and discretion, and—still rarer merit—their references have been carefully verified; and the result is a solid and lasting contribution to our knowledge of a very important social question, which throws much light on the problems which confront us to-day.

J. R. G.

**France pendant la Revolution.** Par LE VICOMTE DE BROU. Paris: Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1891. (Two vols. 15 fcs.)

LE VICOMTE DE BROU'S book is an admirable digest of facts relating to the French Revolution. After a masterly introduction relating of the Revolution generally, he describes, under a series of headings the condition of the various classes of the population, the administration of justice, the prisons, the victims, education, finance, &c. Each chapter is an essay complete in itself, and yet all of them taken together form one compact whole. Some readers will find fault with the author for the gloom which pervades his volumes, while others, no doubt, will value it the more on this account. All, however, will join in condemning him for not giving us an index, so necessary an adjunct in books of this kind.

T. B. S.

**roman d'un Royaliste sous la Revolution: Souvenirs du Comte de Virieu.** Par LE MARQUIS COSTA DE BEAUREGARD. Paris: Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1892. (7 fcs. 50c.)

The little party of constitutionalists in the National Assembly

of 1789, contained men who are better known to the world than M. de Virieu, but perhaps no one whose career is more interesting. Sprung from one of the noblest families of Dauphiny, brought up from childhood by the aunts of Louis XVI, he nevertheless became an ardent champion of liberty and found himself in opposition to the court. He was strongly in favour of the union of the three orders, yet like his friends Mounier, Lally, and Clermont Tonnerre, he deplored the excesses of Mirabeau's followers. The bitter young Barnave was especially odious to him. The violence of the mob at the fall of the Bastille and the bloody days of October made him despair of any moderate reform. He would have no part, however, in the emigration; he was indignant with Lally and Mounier for deserting their country in the hour of her need. During the king's imprisonment he was most energetic in devising means of escape. At last he retired to Lyons and became one of the leading spirits in the insurrection against the Convention. The account of the siege drawn from his daughter's diary gives a most vivid picture of the horrors of the Revolution. His wife and family who had shared in all his hardships escaped into Switzerland. His own fate cannot be known with certainty. The despatches sent to Robespierre assert that among the prisoners was "the *ci-devant* Marquis de Virieu, ex-constituent." As all of these were afterwards shot it would seem that he must have perished with the rest. But it was confidently reported that he had never been captured at all; that he had been found dead on the road-side with his cross of St. Louis buried in his breast by a bullet. He was in his thirty-ninth year. The story is told with all the grace which distinguishes everything that comes from the pen of M. Costa de Beauregard. Two portraits—one of De Virieu and the other, a most charming one, of his wife,—add much to the interest of the volume.

T. B. S.

**Souvenirs du Marechal Macdonald.** Avec une introduction par M. CAMILLE ROUSSET. Large 8vo. pp. xciv.—415. Paris: Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1892. (7 fcs. 50 c.)

The enormous success of "Marbot's Memoirs" shows that the interest in Napoleon's campaigns is in no way decreasing. "Marshal Macdonald's Reminiscences," too, although far less have already reached a sixth edition. The Marshall had little claim to literary skill, but he tells his story in a straight-forward, soldier-like way. His career was very different from that of so many successful soldiers of his day. Born in 1765, he was a brigadier and general before Bonaparte became famous. He heartily threw himself into

the struggle against the Directory. The road to the highest posts now seemed open to him, but all his hopes were dashed by a false accusation that he was implicated in Moreau's conspiracy. It was not until 1809, when Napoleon with three wars on his hands was sadly in want of superior officers, that Macdonald was received back into favour. The choice was a happy one. But for him the battle of Wagram would have been a terrible disaster to the French. The Archduke Charles, seeing a gap in their centre, pushed for it with all his available forces. Macdonald hurried up and held the ground against tremendous odds until reinforcements began to arrive. Then, charging in turn he drove the Austrians back with a loss of 5,000 prisoners and ten guns. Next day he was publicly thanked by Napoleon and received the Marshal's baton. During the Russian campaign he commanded the left wing of the Grand Army which was composed of Prussians. The most important part of his recollections will, however, be found to be his account of the gigantic struggles during the year 1813. When Napoleon fell, Macdonald transferred his allegiance to the Bourbons and remained faithful to them during the Hundred Days. His new masters found in him an outspoken critic of their rash measures, but to their credit it must be recorded that they did not value him the less on this account. The *Memoirs* end with the final disbanding of the remnants of Napoleon's forces. Macdonald himself saw the downfall of the Bourbon dynasty, and lived in retirement until 1840.

T. B. S.

**Mémoires et Souvenirs du Baron Hyde de Neuville:**  
**III, Charles X—La Duchesse de Berry—Le Comte de**  
**Chambord.** 8vo. pp. 590. Paris: Plon, Nourrit et Cie.  
 1892. (7 fcs. 50 c.)

The two preceding volumes of M. Hyde de Neuville's *Mémoires* have already received favourable notice in this REVIEW. This concluding portion contains much valuable information concerning the miserable story of the steps by which the Bourbons brought about their final expulsion from the French throne. One can see from *Memoirs* such as these that their policy met with no encouragement from many of their most devoted adherents.

T. B. S.



**Sir Philip Sidney.** By H. R. FOX BOURNE. *Heroes of the Nations' Series.* 8vo. p. p. xviii, 363. Ind. 5s. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1891.

TO the many whose lifelong admiration of Sir Philip Sidney is based on the scant knowledge of his magnanimous refusal, when mortally wounded at Zutphen, of a cup of cold water in favour of a common soldier, this story of his life in detail cannot fail to be of interest. Mr. Fox Bourne's object is to present Sidney to us as the type of English chivalry in the Elizabethan age. Sir Philip's claims to this place of honour are strong. "A scholar and a soldier," an author of no mean repute in his day, a courtier and a statesman, who kept himself pure amidst the wickedness and follies of a licentious court, who, though he stooped, in accordance with the prevailing fashion, to fulsome flattery of Elizabeth, did not hesitate, under a sense of duty, to oppose her policy, and who remained loyal even when in disfavour—Sidney recalls the best traditions of mediæval chivalry.

At the same time it will dash somewhat the admiration of Catholics to find that he was a member of the Parliamentary Committee, on whose recommendation the stringent penal laws of 1581 were passed. His zeal for his country was the prey of his bigoted fear and hatred of "Papistry." Nor was he above seeking self-enrichment by grants of the confiscated property of Catholic recusants, "My suit is for £100 a year in impropriations," he writes to Lord Burghley. In a letter to his uncle, the Earl of Leicester, on the same subject he says: "Truly I like not their persons (the Catholics) and much worse their religion; but I think my fortune very hard that my fortune must be built on other men's punishments."

One word as to Mr. Fox Bourne's method of treatment of his subject. We imagine that he has aimed at writing a popular sketch. If this be so, we are inclined to think he has somewhat overloaded it with unimportant and tedious details, which obscure the main outlines of the central figure and destroy the true perspective of the surroundings. Much interest is thus lost.

Nevertheless, the neatly-bound, clearly-printed volume, with its numerous and excellent reproductions of old portraits of notable persons and places, its elegant and appropriate headpieces and tail-pieces, and its many sidelights from the social and political history of the times, will be received with welcome as a not unworthy setting to the story of the life of a great Englishman.

J. B. MILBURN.

**Letters of Archbishop Ullathorne.** Svo., pp. 550. London : Burns and Oates. New York : Catholic Publication Society Co.

**T**HIS instalment of the letters of Archbishop Ullathorne—and, in spite of its 550 pages, the book is no more than an instalment—is the best possible supplement to the “Autobiography” which has already delighted so many readers. The letters here printed cover his whole official life, from the time he laboured as a missionary at Coventry (1842) till a few weeks before his death in 1889. But they are not by any means all that have been preserved. It will be easily understood that many of these cannot yet be made public. He was a very prolific letter writer. He was in the habit of putting forth much force of mind and considerable labour in corresponding with any one who was likely to appreciate it. Some of his correspondence, in his later years, reads as if it were written with an idea that it might be printed. This is only natural and right, for a Bishop like Dr. Ullathorne has frequently to put into a letter views and statements which must have been prepared with the greatest care. He most frequently writes with an evident desire to interest or amuse some one, or some circle, and takes pains to write what will interest.

Dr. Ullathorne's letters are those of a man to whom writing is a pleasure, but who feels that he has something to say which is more or less worth the saying. The contents of the letters are unequal, which is equivalent to saying that they are the spontaneous outpourings of the humour of the moment, and not the elaborate and corrected compositions of the study. But, taken as a whole, they complete that picture of a keen and yet kindly character, of an acute yet by no means cynical observer, of a staunch and consistent ecclesiastic, which was sketched in the autobiography. There are many noble, deep, fertile, and striking ideas in these pages, but the writer is one who always writes, not for the human race in general, but for his correspondent. The personal interest—the characterisation of an interesting personality—predominates over the interest of the matter, interesting as that generally is. The glimpses we obtain of his inner and spiritual life are, as might be expected, glimpses and nothing more. He was not a man to analyse his own interior. At the same time he lets the reader feel that he is constantly occupied with that introspection and effort which must go on in a man's heart if he is earnestly drawing nearer to God. The love of God, he finds in 1850, “frees from all bondage, all human respect, and all fear” (p. 9). He finds, in a retreat in 1850, “how much more light God gives through the will than through the intellect” (p. 13.) In 1851, he recommends to his correspondent

what "he finds useful to himself"—"think from what God has raised you," (p. 15.) So happy a week as that retreat he "had not known for years." (21). It is from his cell in "Warwick Jail" that he writes about that "straight look" away from ourselves "into our Divine Lord's presence" of which his spiritual children heard so much (37). "Reading," he says in 1853, "no longer gives me knowledge as it used to do. It seems to me that it comes in other ways now, and specially by prayer" (p. 42). Some thirty years later, he writes: "What I have learnt during the composition of this book, ("The Groundwork of Christian Virtues") is a *certain interior process*, taught, of course, by the interior Master, of steadily advancing and keeping the mind and will objectively on God, so as but little to feel oneself in comparison." (p. 421.) These revelations of his soul are scattered up and down the book. But the indirect indications of the history of his mind and heart are to be found in every page. Many of the letters are addressed to religious women, and they show how deeply and tenderly he cared for their interests. Not a few of these communications are long and solid expositions of the interior and religious life. Others are thanks for prayers and offerings, or relate to the interchange of good wishes on festivals and anniversaries. It is not always clear who is the correspondent to whom he is addressing these letters on the religious life and its concerns, but it is evident that the most of them have been published out of that large store which must now be in the possession of the Dominican Sisters of Stone. Mother Margaret and her earliest companions—several of them women of great capacity and lofty mind—filled too great a space in his thought and activity for many years not to have been the recipients of his choicest confidences.

There is a power and finish in many of his descriptions of places and persons which one would hardly look for in an ordinary letter. Look, for instance, at his admirable portraits of Dr. Moore, of Oscott (p. 79), of Bishop Grant (p. 243), of Bishop Briggs (p. 108), of the venerable Curé d'Ars (p. 51), and of Father Richmond (p. 6). Bishop Briggs—a figure which is now fast receding into the dim past—he writes thus:—

I have just returned (January 11th, 1861) from the funeral of the senior bishop, Dr. Briggs. He was truly a venerable and interior man, a man of prayer; patient, meek, and childlike. They say of him that never did he breathe a word against anyone. . . . . Once only he spoke of himself to a religious with whom he was very intimate; and then he said that he tried to carry out the chapter of St. Alphonsus regarding poverty. He cared nothing for himself, and gave away everything he

got. He had a great love for children, and the simple poor, and was fond of the Irish people. . . . He never answered a question without lifting his mind to God. But where he saw truth and right, and duty, no human respect ever stood in his way. I have seen him in moments of severe trial, when to speak would have been his vindication, and when a firm silence, compressed lips and pale cheeks, that marked the inward effort of self-repression, and a quiet tear rolling from his eye, were all the signs he gave. He was truly a meek, patient man. You know he was famous for not being in time; in fact he seemed unconscious of time. I have often thought of that, and why it was. In him I verily believe it marked a mind which rested on eternity, and was careless of reputation. . . . His soul was tremulously delicate, and so was his conscience, and in his sense of reverence few men equalled him. Hence his care, as well as his protractedness in all sacred offices. . . . When the Pope first saw him, he said, that is truly a venerable man (p. 108).

We might cite page after page of the book, for there is hardly a page which does not present some solid thought, in a more or less original setting, sometimes quaintly characterised by the personality of the writer. But it is enough to cite the following description of a banquet at the Vatican. It was in June, 1862, on the occasion of the Canonization of the Japanese Martyrs. —

We rambled about the Vatican until dinner-time, at two p.m. Each prelate received a plan of the tables with his own number and name printed, so that he found his place without difficulty. The Pope sat under a canopy in the centre: the Cardinals were dispersed among the bishops; each bishop sat according to his order and time of nomination. The dinner was admirably served, and the three hundred guests were each attended to without the slightest hitch, delay, or inconvenience. This resulted from having three distinct sets of servants, one to look to the guests, one to bring in the course, and another to carry off the one to which it succeeded. Thus the dinner exactly occupied the hour and a half which the Pope wished it not to exceed. I confess to have sinfully pocketed a white dove reposing on sugar, and a singular old gentleman in blue wings and yellow hat, and a muffer for tooth-ache, intending to carry them to a certain St. Dominic's, at Stone; in punishment for which theft they broke and melted in my pocket. And yet this was not so wicked as the act of a French bishop who put a peach in his pocket, quite unconscious that it was an ice; how he got through his troubles I never heard. . . . After dinner we strolled through the beautiful gardens of the Vatican; and the mixture of red and purple robes, with a sprinkle of black, brown and ash colours of the regulars made, in the bright sunshine, amidst the dark foliage and white statuary, a magnificent spectacle. All commingled and conversed as if they had known each other from childhood; Italian, French and Latin being the tongues most commonly heard. At last we gathered in a cool pleasureance encircled by colonnades round fountains and groups of flowers, where coffee was served, and then we regularly mobbed the Holy Father, conspicuous by his fine figure and white costume, like a set of grown-up children. He got on some steps and we all crowded round him. His eyes twinkled with the fun of the scene. . . . it was a happy day for him, and yet many had occasional sad thoughts, and even words. The Bishop of Geneva said to me, "May we not use the words of our Lord—I have desired to eat this supper with you before I suffer?" (p. 117.)



The volume is admirably edited and printed, and there is a good alphabetical index. One or two mistakes of the copyist are still left; for example, "Baron Hügel" for Baron Hübner (p. 269). A note or two here and there elucidate the text; not quite sufficiently, however, sometimes; for instance, the Bishop's favourite comparison of the coats of pride to the skins of the onion (see p. 302) is indeed taken from Cassian, for Cassian used it (*De Institutis Cœnobitarum*, xi. 5); but the whole elaboration of the illustration is the Bishop's own, and very characteristic it is.

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**Ignaz von Doellinger.** Eine Charakteristik von Dr. EMIL MICHAEL, S.J. Innsbruck: Rauch. 1892.

WE are happy to commend to the attention of English scholars, both Catholic and Anglican, the above work, which has a special claim to their consideration. It is only in 1892 that a comprehensive view of Dr. Doellinger's position, both in and out of the Catholic church, may be duly obtained. Since his death in January, 1890, some remarkable volumes, containing minor works hitherto unpublished, letters of a very confidential character, and his addresses delivered before the Royal Academy of Munich, have been collected and published. F. Michael, Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Innsbruck, has set himself to mould the immense materials into a character-study of the late Provost of All Saints, Munich, who, whilst in his better days stood forward as one of the most powerful champions of the Catholic church,—since 1870 has become one of her most implacable foes. In six chapters the gifted author enlarges on—1, The interior apostasy; 2, Open and manifest heterodoxy; 3, Incessant defeats of Dr. Doellinger; 4, The orator before the Academy, 1875 to 1878; 5, Summons to come back to the Church, and speeches from 1878 to 1881; 6, The academical speeches from 1881 to 1890; 7, His isolated position.

The way in which Professor Michael throughout this laborious work has discharged his duty claims the highest praise. The book is destined to hand down to coming generations the true picture of Doellinger, and if they will seek for a scientific, unprejudiced appreciation of the Professor, it is to this standard book that they will undoubtedly turn. There was a period when some English Catholics were deeply influenced by Doellinger's writings and principles of historical criticism, but since 1870 a remarkable change has been brought about. The severe censures which the late lamented Cardinal Manning has passed on the position occupied

by Professor Doellinger are fully justified by the ample researches and critical acumen of F. Michael. The Vatican Council, far from affording to Doellinger an opportunity for deserting the Catholic Church, has only been a test to which his orthodoxy was subjected. Fortunately, the conscientious historian has laid bare the sad fact that long before the Council had been convoked Doellinger had ceased to be a Catholic. The scholar who in the most radical journal of the Austrian Empire, the *Neue Freie Presse* of Vienna, held up St. Pius V. to scorn, who taunted Pius IX. when proceeding with the canonization of St. Peter Arbues with approving of bloodshed, who wrote the Janus containing the most unjustifiable accusations against the Popes and degraded the primacy of the Holy See to a mere human institution, could hardly have claimed to be still a Catholic.

Doellinger may be credited with being a great scholar in the department of historical science, but he lacked great historical principles. He failed to recognise the development of the Kingdom of Christ in the Catholic Church, and at last sank so deep as to look on the primacy of the Holy See as an heathen institution. This view is brought out by his letter to the Anglican Bishop Browne, of Winchester, to whom he recommends Professor Langen's work on the history of the Roman Primacy during the first four centuries (424). English scholars will be interested in perusing the details which describe Mr. Gladstone's relations to Doellinger. In viewing not a few religious questions they faithfully went together, but parted company upon the momentous questions of the disestablishment and the claims of Ireland. In his various schemes for uniting the Western church with the oriental religious communities and the Bonn conferences, to which so many Anglican scholars flocked in 1874 and 1875, Professor Doellinger's effort resulted in utter failure. His policy, which urged him to remain in the Catholic Church and nevertheless to disobey the decree of an Ecumenical Council was totally unsound. Towards the end he was wholly isolated. More than once Pius IX., Leo XIII., Bishop von Hefele, who, as a scholar, is not second to Doellinger, and Archbishop Steichele, of Munich, made the most generous but unavailing efforts to win back Doellinger. Thus he prepared for himself the sad fate of dying outside the pale of the Catholic Church. Let us hope that this eminent historical work may find its way through a good translation into the hands of English readers.

BELLESHEIM.

**Life of Monsignor de Forbin-Janson, Bishop of Nancy.**

By Rev. Fr. PHILPIN DE RIVIÈRE, of the London Oratory. 1891.  
8vo. pp. xi.—526. Paris: H. Oudin, Leday & Cie.

**I**N the life of Monsignor de Forbin-Janson, Bishop of Nancy, we have a record of ecclesiastical events happening in the course of years of which many of us know but little—years that are too near to our own day to be studied as history, and which are yet too far removed from the present generation to be remembered as a matter of personal recollection, namely, from 1785 to 1844, and our thanks are due to the Father Philpin for the painstaking and careful record which he gives us of a life which enables us to study this near past from a Catholic point of view.

Born in the family hotel in Paris in 1785, Charles de Forbin-Janson was a child during the period of the greatest atrocities of the first French Revolution. His family suffered the fate of most of the French nobility at that time, and although we do not read of any of its members having actually perished on the scaffold, they were driven into exile and spent several years both in Bavaria and in Switzerland. His mother was a pious and in every respect an admirable woman, and was so devoted an adherent of the royal family, that she planned an expedient for saving her royal mistress from suffering the fate of her already martyred husband. Madame de Forbin-Janson succeeded in making her way into the prison where Marie-Antoinette was confined, and hoped by means of an exchange of dress to effect the escape of the Queen. Whether her efforts would have been crowned with success we cannot know, for Marie-Antoinette definitely and positively refused to allow her suppliant to incur any danger on her behalf, and the willing sacrifice was therefore never accepted.

For five years the youthful Charles remained in exile with his family; but, in 1795, the worst horrors of the reign of terror having abated, they all returned to Paris, and shortly afterwards Charles made his first communion at the Church of St. Roch. These were the early days of the great Napoleon's power; and in the beginning he appeared anxious to advance the interests of the Church and to attach to himself the younger members of the old nobility. How the hopes founded on these signs were eventually disappointed is a matter of history; but, for a while, Charles de Forbin-Janson believed that he would be able to serve his country as well under the new Emperor as his family had served it under legitimate rulers. Space forbids our following the subject of this biography during the years of indecision as to his future. Suffice it to say that, his vocation

having been clearly made manifest, he somewhat abruptly left his father's house and established himself as a seminarist at Saint Sulpice, and in 1811 was ordained priest in the diocese of Chambéry, though at the hands of which bishop is a matter of uncertainty.

Once launched into Holy Orders, two ideas seem to have possessed themselves of the Abbé de Janson; these were, first, the importance of holding frequent missions; and, secondly, a never-failing desire and longing for missionary work amongst the heathen, and above all for the conversion of China. His life during the next three and thirty years is given in great detail in the volume before us, and to it we must refer those of our readers who are anxious to follow the account of this zealous and indefatigable missionary in his labours, both as priest and as bishop. To this last-named dignity he was raised in 1823, but, although consecrated to the See of Nancy, he was not allowed personally to direct his diocese during the last thirteen years of his life. Having opposed the government of Louis Phillippe, the King took a petty revenge by forbidding Monsignor de Janson to come within a nearer distance of his diocese than Lyons. Tyrannical as was such an order, and deeply deplored by the priests and people of his diocese, thus rudely deprived of their legitimate spiritual father, the world at large, on either side of the Atlantic, may be said to have gained by the Bishop's exile. In the spirit of a true missionary we read of Monsignor de Janson hurrying through both the old and the new world, converting, preaching, and arousing to fresh spiritual efforts all whom he meets. The numbers who by his efforts were brought to the Sacraments must be studied in detail, as well as the effects of his eloquent preaching in the United States, and still more in Canada, both of which are recorded at length in Father Philpin's volume. For Canada and its semi-French people the Bishop seemed to have had a special devotion; indeed, the Canadians almost rivalled his early love for the Chinese. His attraction, however, for China was ever present, and although he did not actually visit the country, the hope of its conversion to Christianity never left him; and, as is well known, towards the end of his life he inaugurated the "Confraternity of the Holy Childhood" in the hopes of accomplishing this object. For years the salvation of the heathen children of China had been Monsignor de Janson's most ardent desire; but what practical steps to take to effect this object for long seemed uncertain; and it was only, as we stated above, towards the close of his life that the means to accomplish this desire took definite shape, and that he was enabled to form an association for its fulfilment at Lyons in 1842.



The Bishop was fortunate enough to meet Mademoiselle Pauline Jaricot, who was already well known to the Catholic world as the foundress of the "Propagation of the Faith." She was in full sympathy with his desire to start a work for the conversion of China; and together they discussed the most likely means to save the thousands of poor children from perishing both in body and soul in that far distant land. For some time no efficacious scheme occurred to either of them, when, suddenly, Mademoiselle Jaricot was inspired with the idea of making the Catholic children of Europe the means of saving their less fortunate brothers and sisters on the other side of the world, and the Confraternity of the Holy Childhood, a society which is similar to that of the Propagation of the Faith, only adapted to children, was the result. Of its success we need not speak here. The monthly halfpence of a multitude of zealous children in Christian Europe, have, we may well believe, been the means of carrying the faith to numberless young Pagans, who else must have perished.

This idea once grasped, Monsignor de Forbin-Janson with his usual energy preached it far and wide, and the Confraternity was finally established, and the first children were enrolled in Paris in 1843. Of its eventual success its founder, alas, was allowed to see but little. His extraordinary labours, his long journeys, and his constant preaching had exhausted a constitution which, although originally strong, was human, and which had been taxed almost beyond human endurance.

In 1844 he became seriously ill; but a shade of improvement having been observed in his condition, he, in spite of all remonstrance, insisted on visiting Marseilles with the object of establishing in that city the Confraternity of the Holy Childhood, and he succeeded in accomplishing his wish. It was, however, at the expense of a serious relapse, and with difficulty he was moved to his brother's château, not far distant. Here he lingered a few days, the fiery zeal with which he was consumed prevented his feeling the usual weakness of the dying, and even caused him to discredit the warnings of sincere friends, who could not but perceive that his end was fast approaching. Such warnings were but too surely justified; his work was done; his labours claimed their reward. At the comparatively early age of fifty-eight Monsignor de Forbin-Janson, a true missionary priest and bishop, died. Space has obliged us to concentrate into two or three pages the history of a life which fills more than five hundred, and we repeat that we must refer our readers to the book itself for the details of this devoted, ever busy and interesting career. To

Father Philpin de Rivière, of the London Oratory, the compilation of this work must have been a labour of love, and we congratulate him on the successful termination of a task which must have involved no slight amount of toil and trouble. But the success of the book will be an ample reward, for we feel convinced that it will be studied with sympathy by all to whom the work of the "Holy Childhood" commends itself, in other words, to all who are anxious that the blessings of a true faith, may be widely propagated.

O. SHIPLEY.

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**International Time: a scheme for harmonising the hour all the world round**, by the Hon. E. NOEL, Major, Rifle Brigade.  
London: Edward Stamford.

WE noticed, about two years ago, a pamphlet by Major Noel, containing the details of a scheme for substituting new weights and measures for those now in use, and that without resorting to the French system.

The same author has now given us a plan of what he terms International Time, in an able and well written pamphlet.

Formerly, when means of communication were far less rapid than they now are, every town, every one at least of any size and importance, kept its own time. The construction of railways made some change necessary, because it would have been intolerable (at any rate in the case of the short distances traversed in England) to have one hour kept at one terminus of a railway and a different one at the other. Consequently London time was kept generally throughout the country for railway purposes, and the principal places still continued to keep their own time. But this was felt to be inconvenient; the system was altered, and instead of having two different hours kept, one for the railway and one for all other purposes, it was generally agreed to keep London time all throughout England. What we speak of as London time is, of course, really that of the meridian passing through the Royal Observatory at Greenwich: and few parts of England are so far West of that meridian as to cause serious inconvenience by keeping Greenwich time. We believe it is still the custom in some parts of France to keep local time and railway time distinct, as was formerly done in England.

In India, Major Noel tells us "all railways and telegraphs keep one time, viz., Madras time, but this area has already reached the extreme limits, within which a common time can be kept without

serious inconvenience, and even now at the extremities we find local time used side by side with railway time."

He gives us a curious instance of the confusion arising between two nations, one carrying on their reckoning from the East, and the other from the West—"When the Americans and Russians met in Alaska, the former, who had come westward, kept Sunday on the Russians' Monday, and the latter, who had come eastward, kept Sunday on the Americans' Saturday."

What Major Noel proposes is that Rome should be taken as the initial meridian from which all time in the world should be calculated: it has a first-class Observatory; it has a convenient contra-meridian (by which he means the initial produced to the opposite side of the world, or, the "great time-divide"), and is otherwise advantageously situated. He would then have the earth divided into twenty-four time-zones, the boundaries of each zone being fifteen degrees apart, Rome being in the centre of the initial zone, the western boundary of which would be about five degrees east of Greenwich, thus a number of European countries could keep the hour of Rome, which would be mean European time, without any difficulty,—Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, Germany, and the greater part of Austria, Switzerland, and Italy: the contra-meridian would be a good one, it would pass through Behring Straits southward, through the Pacific, scarcely ever touching land. The central meridian for England would be about two and half degrees west of Greenwich, it would pass near Edinburgh, between Manchester and Liverpool, and almost touch Bristol; it would also be available for Ireland. The arrangement however would not be very suitable for France, which would probably form a special zone for herself. India would be divided into two zones, Bombay being almost exactly on the central meridian of one, and Calcutta not far from that of the other. Major Noel works out his plan in full detail, and gives a chart showing the zones and the countries divided by them. The principle, he tells us, for which he contends, has already been adopted in America, the continent of North America being divided into five zones. It should be observed that he does not propose to interfere with Greenwich as the meridian from which longitude for the whole world is to be calculated, as is now generally the case for purposes of navigation, &c. And here we confess we think there is some difficulty; for to have one initial meridian for longitude as calculated by Arc, and another for time, would inevitably cause more or less confusion. Besides which, we are not sure that Londoners would be content to keep Bristol time. Other-

wise there is much to recommend Major Noel's scheme, and we strongly advise our readers to peruse the whole pamphlet, and judge for themselves.

We in England are a restless people, and spend much of our time in travelling by train, so that with us railway-time is all-important: but in other countries, which are spread over many degrees of longitude, and where the people do not travel so incessantly by railways, we do not see that any grave inconvenience need arise by one hour being kept at the station and another (the real mean time of each important town) for all local purposes. F. R. W. P.

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**Christian Anthropology.** By the Rev. J. THEIN. Large 8vo. pp. 568. New York: Benziger Brothers. 1892. \$2.50c., or 10s.

“OUR book,” says the author, at the beginning of his preface, “is entitled—‘Christian Anthropology in contradistinction to Materialistic Anthropology.’” This clear and frank statement is not merely right and proper; it is also most important, inasmuch as it affirms the existence of “Christian Anthropology” as a science whose object is now considered as a whole; or, as Father Thein well says:—

The entire man, the soul as well as the body. It notes the great difference between man and the beast; it considers his intellectual and moral qualities as well as his anatomical and physiological characters, and therefore man's origin, nature's place in creation, antiquity, unity, immortality, future life.

This is admirably put, and we have there a true outline of the only science of Anthropology that can deservedly be called “Christian.” At the same time, it shall be our endeavour, in dealing with that most important department of modern science, not to appear to fall, even for a moment, into the deplorable one-sidedness which so constantly characterises the works of our adversaries, the professors of “Materialistic Anthropology.” The material aspects of man's nature seems to absorb all their thoughts; anatomical and physiological characters, cranial measurements; differences of functional phenomena; ancient customs; age of deposits containing human remains; all that relates to prehistoric man and to modern savages; such are the chief subjects that command their attention, and they deliberately refuse to extend their researches beyond what they proudly call “the safe domain of facts.”



Now, if we wish to assert our own position with success before the modern world, whose chief interest undoubtedly lies in "facts," we must see that we do not fall into the opposite mistake, namely, the neglect of those more material aspects of the science of man, in our anxiety to emphasize the supreme importance of that other category of facts which includes the more distinctly Christian doctrines of man's moral nature, man's soul, and man's destiny. To dispute with an adversary with some success, we must know his language, we must understand the terms he uses; to do this we must have studied the same facts, although it will be of great value to us to have also studied other facts which our adversary perversely declines to consider. Thus, Christian Anthropology must not be less exacting, less minute in its study of the physical, physiological, and pathological characters of man. It takes as great an interest in bones, muscles, brain-convolutions, and cranial measurements as any Materialistic Anthropologist ever did. Those facts are essential to the argument in question, and besides, those facts speak of wonders of structure and function, sacred to him who recognises in them the mark of the Divine Architect. For no less than the stars in the heavens do those biological wonders show His handiwork. We ought, therefore, to be thankful to the learned author of "Christian Anthropology" for having given us a work in which so much accurate scientific information is contained by the order of those more strictly philosophical and theological considerations which alone afford a final conclusion of the whole subject. Indeed, if we could bring ourselves to criticise where so much is above all criticism, we would perhaps express our regret that more purely scientific matter has not been introduced, with a view to making the book more generally useful. From this point of view the 5th chapter, on "Man and beast," may to some appear somewhat weak, and the 7th chapter in "The state of primitive man" may seem perhaps inadequate to put the student in full possession of the question in all its bearings. The last chapter, "On the immortality of the soul and its future life" is eloquently written, but lacks, here and there, that accuracy of treatment which stamps a work at once as thoroughly scientific. On the other hand, the chapters on "Geology and the Deluge" are written with great ability and show a real grasp of that difficult subject. In conclusion, we gratefully recognise in Father Thein's book another proof of the great doctrine that between the truths of Revelation and the truths of science no real conflict can exist.

L. BAYNARD KLEIN.

**Egosophy.** By THE PRIG. 8vo. pp. ix.-139. London: Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. 1892, price 3s. 6d.

IF on first sight of this title you laid stress on the "goss," its meaning will not be evident, but if with a sharper eye you detect the "ego," you will guess that we have at last a treatise on how to treat number one, how to please oneself more than other folks; in a word a class book of selfishness. This is the avowed object of *The Prig* in the work which hangs wholly on the hypothesis, "if to serve himself is the end of man, it must be the most important of all sciences." The fundamental humour of the work lies in its plan. Arguing that the Exercises of St. Ignatius constitute the most renowned system for studying the End of Man, the author has framed the treatise as an eight days' retreat. He guards himself, however, against the possible charge of attempting to travesty St. Ignatius. The book will be appreciated most of all by the followers of St. Ignatius, by those who have made retreats under Jesuit Fathers or who use for meditation the exercises of St. Ignatius. To get the benefit of a Retreat you should attend the whole of it; similarly we shall not spoil *The Prig's* exercises by giving more; than one taste of their quality.

I will suppose that you have already acquired the rudiments of egoism; that the news of the burning to death of a hundred miners in a coal-pit (somebody else's coal-pit) within a mile of your house would not affect you in the least, that you only regret the death of an old friend because he will no longer amuse you, or because it reminds you that your own turn to die must come some day; that you regard your riches as something to be spent exclusively upon your own pleasures, and that you never entertain others unless they are likely to entertain you in return, or unless you will regain repayment by obtaining honour for the splendour of your hospitality.

All this is well, very well, so far as it goes; but it is only the beginning of the way of perfection—the particular perfection of which I am speaking. Before you attain to that, you must be in a condition so stoical with regard to others, that if you hear that your beautiful and charming wife has got an incipient cancer, your only regrets will be that you will be deprived of the pleasure of her company, and the honour of a brilliant hostess at your entertainments, and that owing to the comparative slowness of the disease, some months must elapse before her death, so that you will have to wait longer than you like before marrying another wife, who will also be charming and beautiful. Delays, you know, are tedious.

C. R.

## Books Received.

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- Theologia Pastoralis**, complectens practicam institutionem Confessarii. Auctore Jos. Aertnys, C.S.S.R. 8vo., pp. 274. London : Burns & Oates.
- The Principal Truths of our holy Religion.** Translated from the French by the Rev. Thomas Ward. 8vo., pp.—284. New York : Benziger Bros
- N. S. Jésus Christ** dans son Saint Evangile par l'Abbé H. Lesêtre. Large 8vo., pp. xii—578. Paris : L. Lethielleux. Paper cover. Maps.
- Juris Ecclesiastici Institutiones** in usum praelectionum. S. Sanguineti, S.J. 8vo., pp. 588. Romae : Ex Typis S. C. de Propaganda Fide.
- Index Lectionum** in Universitate Friburgensi per menses Aestivos MDCCCXCII. Praemittitur J. J. Berthier commentatio cui titulus "La porte de Sainte-Sabine à Rome." Large 8vo., pp. 103. Friburgi : Soc. St. Pauli.
- The Creed Explained.** By Rev. Arthur Devine, Passionist. 8vo., pp. 484. London : R. Washbourne. Dublin : M. H. Gill & Son.
- Religion.** Par G. de Molinari, Redacteur-en-chef du Journal des Economistes. 8vo., pp. 470. Paris : Guillaumin & Cie, frs. 3-50.
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- Spiritual Letters of Fr. Surin, S.J.**, translated by Sister M. Christopher, O.S.F. Preface by Rev. Fr. Goldie, S.J. Edited by Rev. H. Collins. 8vo., pp. 393. London : Art & Book Co.
- The Confessor** after God's own heart, from French, R. P. Cros, S.J. 8vo., 284. Dublin : Browne & Nolan. 3s.
- Blessed Louis-Marie G. de Montfort.** By a Secular Priest. Large 8vo. Two vols., pp. 359—417. London : Art and Book Co.
- Discipline Claustrale** ou Pratique des actes de la vie religieuse : à l'usage des Carmes dechaussés ; traduite de l'Italien du R. P. Jean de Jésus-Marie. Par le R. P. Berthold Ignace de St. Anne. 8vo., pp. 144. Malines : H. Dessain.
- Life and Works of St. Bernard.** Edited by Dom. John Mabillon, translated by Samuel J. Eales, M.A. Second edition. 8vo. Two vols., pp.—941. London : Burns & Oates. New York : Benziger Bros.
- Devotion to the Most Holy Sacrament**, translated from the Italian of John Baptist Pagani. 12mo., pp. 148. London : Art & Book Co. 1s. 6d.
- Verses on Doctrinal and Devotional Subjects.** By Rev. J. Casey, P.P. Vol. III. 8vo., pp. viii—188. Dublin : J. Duffy and Co.
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**The Teaching of Jesus.** By Hans Hinrich Wendt, translated by Rev. J. Wilson. 8vo. pp.—400. Edinburgh: T. T. Clark. 10s. 6d.

**Genesis** printed in Colours, showing the original sources from which it has been compiled. By Edwin Cone Bissell. 8vo., pp. 59. Hartford, U.S.A.: Belknap & Warfield. \$1.25.

**Menology** of England and Wales, or brief memorials of the Ancient British and English Saints (with a supplement bringing the work up to date) by Rev. R. Stanton, priest of the London Oratory. 8vo., pp.—811. London: Burns & Oates. New York: Benziger Bros. 14s.

**Chapters towards a Life of St. Patrick.** By Rev. Sylvester Malone, M.R.I.A. 12mo., pp. 226. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son.

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